



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-94-055
Tuesday
22 March 1994

Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-94-055

CONTENTS

22 March 1994

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

CENTRAL AFRICA

Burundi

Up to 100 Deaths Reported in Bujumbura Clashes [Brussels Radio]	1
President Announces New Security Measures [Bujumbura Radio]	1
Defense Minister, Legislators Discuss Security [Bujumbura Radio]	1

Cameroon

Biya Unlikely To Attend Lake Chad Meeting [AFP]	2
---	---

Chad

Opposition Seeks Extension of Transitional Period [Libreville Radio]	2
--	---

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Mandela Addresses Sharpeville Commemoration	3
Says Indemnity Possible for Police [Johannesburg TV]	3
Further on Address [SAPA]	3
Police Spokesman: De Klerk 'Demoralizing' Force [Johannesburg TV]	3
Kriel Criticizes Response [SAPA]	4
Commentary Notes Turning Point in De Klerk-Police Ties [Pretoria Radio]	4
AWB Condemns Goldstone Report on Third Force [SAPA]	5
IFP, ANC Spokesmen Comment on Zulu Sovereignty [Johannesburg TV]	5
Buthelezi Views ANC, Government Opportunism [SAPA]	11
IFP on ANC-SACP Plan To Destabilize Kwazulu [SAPA]	11
IFP. Repeat of Bophuthatswana in Natal Not Possible [WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN 18-24 Mar]	14
ANC's Mbeki: Mandela To Be Inaugurated in Pretoria [SAPA]	15
Constand Viljoen Explains Quitting Volksfront [WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN 18-24 Mar]	16
CP Defectors Said To Include Grassroots Leaders [SUNDAY TIMES 20 Mar]	17
Nine Parties Receive Electoral Fund Payments [SAPA]	17
Kriel Remains NP Western Cape Premier Candidate [Johannesburg Radio]	17
Democratic Party Said Losing Business Support [SUNDAY TIMES 20 Mar]	17
Bophuthatswana Administrators Issue Report [SAPA]	18
ANC Denies Role in Bophuthatswana MP's Murder [SAPA]	18
SADF, Bophuthatswana Forces Working on Integration [Johannesburg Radio]	18
Capital Outflow Reported at 16.3 Billion Rand [SUNDAY TIMES 20 Mar]	18
Finance Minister Optimistic About Future Policies [SAPA]	19
Expects New Budget by August [SAPA]	19
Buthelezi Warns Businessmen of False Sense of Security [SAPA]	19
Thousands of Civil Servants Taking Early Retirement [SUNDAY TIMES 20 Mar]	20
SADF Calls Up Part-Time Members for Elections [SAPA]	20
Inmates Break Out of Pietermaritzburg Prison [SAPA]	20
Explosion Damages NP Office in Ventersdorp [Johannesburg Radio]	21
South African Press Review for 22 Mar [THE CITIZEN 21 Mar, etc]	21

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angola

Reconciliation Negotiations Continue in Lusaka [Luanda TV]	22
Observers on UNITA Stance [Luanda Radio]	22
FAA Kills 2 Zairians in Battle for Mona Quimbundo [Maputo Radio]	22
UNITA Reportedly Launches Major Offensive [Luanda Radio]	22
President dos Santos Swears In New Ministers [Luanda TV]	22

Comoros

Opposition Comments on Arrest of 2 Leaders [Libreville Radio]	23
---	----

Mozambique

Dhlakama Reaffirms Renamo Wants October Elections [Maputo Radio]	23
CCF Meets in Maputo, Discusses Troop Confinement [Maputo Radio]	23
Government, Renamo Soldiers To Join New Army [Maputo Radio]	23
Ajello: FADM Training Delayed for Technical Reasons [Maputo Radio]	23
Renamo Reportedly Inciting Soldiers To Rebel [Maputo Radio]	24
Chissano Opens Frelimo Central Committee Meeting [Maputo Radio]	24
Poll Measures Popularity of Unarmed Parties [SAVANA 11 Mar]	24

WEST AFRICA

Benin

Students, Security Forces Clash in Cotonou [AFP]	26
Unions Maintain Strike Call; Government Reacts [Cotonou Radio]	26

Ghana

District Assembly Elections Begin 22 Mar [Accra Radio]	26
--	----

Guinea-Bissau

Presidential, Legislative Elections Postponed [Lisbon International]	26
--	----

Niger

Police, Students Clash in Niamey Demonstration [AFP]	27
France Denies Supporting Tuareg Rebellion [Niamey Radio]	27

Togo

Koffigoh Offers Government's Resignation to Eyadema [Lome Radio]	27
Views New Government Consultations [Lome Radio]	27
Controversy Between CAR, UTD Over Premiership [Lome Radio]	28

Burundi

Up to 100 Deaths Reported in Bujumbura Clashes

LD2103165694 Brussels La Une Radio Network in French 1600 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] There have been scores of deaths, maybe 100 in Burundi. This is the sad result of a weekend of clashes between Tutsis and Hutus in the capital, Bujumbura. Burundi has not come out of the infernal cycle of violence and reprisals, and people are living in fear. Jean-Michel Mostaert reports:

[Mostaert] Everything started on Saturday [19 March] morning with a grenade attack on a bus in the district of Rusaka, east of Bujumbura. Four passengers were killed. All were members of the Tutsi community. Immediately, the Tutsis wanted revenge; they attacked members of the Hutu community, while Tutsis were victims of reprisals in the areas with a Hutu majority.

These fresh interethnic clashes are reported to have led to scores of deaths, maybe 100. They reveal the tense atmosphere which is continuing in Burundi almost five months after the abortive military coup of October, when almost 100,000 people were killed in interethnic violence. Since then, the authorities have not managed to restore a minimum of trust between the two communities. On the contrary; in the capital, Bujumbura, Tutsis and Hutus now live entrenched in their districts. Many are armed and the slightest incident leads to bloody reprisals.

The government seems to be powerless. It is divided on whether to disarm people or not. A UN mission is to arrive in Burundi tomorrow. It will investigate the situation in the country. It will only be able to see the drift of Burundi, which is sinking deeper and deeper into chaos.

President Announces New Security Measures

EA2103204994 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in French 1800 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] Today, the president of the Republic, Mr. Cyprien Ntaryamira, met Prime Minister Anatole Kanyenkiko, the military command, and officials of the intelligence service. They studied ways and means of restoring security especially in Bujumbura in order to stop massacres, balkanization of suburbs, looting, and arson. They decided on a number of measures.

First, the entire population is asked to keep peace throughout the country and not to allow themselves to be influenced by the situation in the various zones of the Bujumbura mayorship in order to prevent trouble erupting upcountry.

Second, from now on the Gendarmerie in cooperation with the (?administration) must ensure the security in the suburbs, markets, on the roads, and in other important public places.

Third, the officials of the gendarmerie and the army must provide the men and necessary means to apprehend whoever perturbs the security and who is in illegal possession of arms.

Fourth, the security forces must avail themselves rapidly anywhere they hear gunfire and must proceed immediately with the arrest of the culprits and the search of houses in the area of the disturbance.

Finally, any person arrested, no matter what his function may be, will have to be brought before the judicial organs.

Defense Minister, Legislators Discuss Security

EA2103205494 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in Kirundi 1115 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Address by National Defense Minister Gedeon Fyiroko to the National Assembly in Bujumbura on 21 March—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Thank you, president of the National Assembly. We are currently experiencing difficult times. I am happy to hear the words you deputies spoke on the return of peace to Bujumbura and our country. The current situation does not concern the military alone; the return of peace is the duty of all Burundians from the highest ranking to the lowest. Those who were elected by the people should be seen to be making efforts to assist them, to prove that we are not sitting in offices exchanging ideas which lead us nowhere. There is little peace in the country currently. Reports from upcountry say that in almost all areas no night passes without people dying, without houses being burned down or demolished. In Bujumbura, it is worse. When the president of the Republic was sworn in we thought that things would cool down but you can see how things are. Here in Bujumbura, in all the suburbs, people are dying, houses are being burned down, and now they are being burned down in the daylight. You have just seen when we were outside how they were burning in Nyakabiga.

It is shameful that we cannot return peace to the people. You asked me how you can help the minister of defense. I liked the fact that you thought about helping the security services. I also thought about requesting the same from you, but you did it before I had the chance. I would like you to examine together ways of meeting the people, how we can go to Musaga, Cibitoke, and other suburbs to pacify them so that, as you said, the culprits are arrested, tried, and jailed.

Regarding the question of how to implement this in peace, we are going to study this situation so that we see how you can visit suburbs in our company without endangering the security of deputies.

I do not say that all of you can go there, but a few of you can represent the rest so that we act quickly and see how we can ensure your security. The other thing in which

you can help us is to support us when talking to the people in your daily actions, in your work, because the way things are now, we should leave aside the party questions so that people can catch up on their sleep and can attend their work.

What took place over the weekend is a shame. Guns were fired throughout the night, there were explosions throughout the night and it is a shame. You can therefore see that in the whole country, especially in Bujumbura, there are too many weapons. It is excessive. Everyone has weapons—Tutsis, Hutus, and foreigners.

[Words indistinct] to return peace as soon as possible, today or tomorrow so that people can sleep and go to work, you should support the idea that people who have weapons should be (?disarmed). This question should find a solution with the help of the people themselves. Because even if we achieved peace today, as long as the weapons are still in circulation they would be used later in other ways, for stealing and killing. That question should not be left behind among the urgent questions.

Ministers, deputies, government employees should work together, meet the people and speak with one voice about peace in these difficult times. People are being kidnapped in broad daylight, but we cannot even find their bodies or know where to start looking. This is a shame. This cannot continue while there are services charged with security and administration. We would be useless to the people. [passage omitted]

Cameroon

Biya Unlikely To Attend Lake Chad Meeting

AB220s081094 Paris AFP in French 1827 GMT
21 Mar 94

[Text] Abuja, 21 Mar (AFP)—Cameroon President Paul Biya will probably not attend the eighth summit of the Lake Chad Basin Commission that is scheduled to take place on 22 March in Abuja, it was learned from diplomatic sources in the Nigerian capital.

The absence of President Biya at this meeting is linked—it is generally believed—to the border conflict that broke out between Cameroon and Nigeria over the Bakassi Peninsula.

The points on the agenda of the summit—to which the heads of state of the border states of Lake Chad (Cameroon, Niger, Nigeria, and Chad) are invited—include the launching of a campaign “for the safeguarding of Lake Chad” aimed at soliciting the aid of the international community to finance the necessary works that would prevent the lake from drying up.

“Up to now, the name of President Biya does not appear on the official list of the heads of state who expressed the wish to take part in the summit,” a source from the Nigerian Foreign Affairs Ministry confirmed.

Cameroon Ambassador to Nigeria, Samuel Libock Mbei, is currently on an official mission to Cameroon, it was learned from that country's embassy, with no more details.

The Bakassi Peninsula—with about 1,000 square km in the Gulf of Guinea—is rich in natural resources (primarily fish) and is said to contain important hydrocarbon deposits.

While seeking a diplomatic solution to that conflict that escalated at the beginning of March, Cameroon and Nigeria deployed troops on Bakassi and Yaounde regularly reports clashes between the two troops.

Chad

Opposition Seeks Extension of Transitional Period

AB2203100894 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
0730 GMT 22 Mar 94

[Text] In Chad, 10 opposition parties are calling for a 12-month extension of the transitional democratic period to enable adequate preparation for the presidential and parliamentary elections. The elections were originally scheduled for this year. The 10 parties, whose names were not disclosed, as well as the 15 associations supporting them, have formed a group known as Alternative 1994. They are demanding the revision of the Transitional Charter, the formation of a new government, the holding of roundtable talks among political and military groups, as well as the signing of a social pact with the unions to put an end to the country's social crisis.

Mandela Addresses Sharpeville Commemoration

Says Indemnity Possible for Police

MB2103175294 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1600 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] Sharpeville celebrations kicked off with a mass rally at the Odi Stadium in Mabopane outside Pretoria this morning. ANC President Nelson Mandela's address was scheduled to start at nine. It was his first visit to the area, and the crowd waited patiently in the scorching morning sun. They had come to see Madiba [one who joins together] and listen to him, and they were willing to wait. Finally he arrived more than two hours later. Recent revelations by the Goldstone commission implicating senior police generals in third force activities, formed the crux of his message. He said indemnity for security force and police members was a possibility.

[Begin Mandela recording] We must seriously consider the question of giving indemnity to the those police and offices of the Defence Force who would like to confess about the criminal activities of certain offices in the police force. [end recording]

Further on Address

MB2103171994 Johannesburg SABA in English 1614 GMT 21 Mar 94

[By Patrick Bulger]

[Text] Sharpeville March 21 SAPA—A furious African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela on Monday [21 March] berated party organisers for the chaotic conditions at one of the ANC's biggest election rallies yet in Sharpeville on Monday. About 75,000 people waited much of the day for the ANC president at Miami Beach, a popular picnic resort at the dusty Vaal Triangle township where police shot dead 69 protesters 34 years ago.

Just how much has changed in the intervening years was demonstrated by the brazen display of weaponry, including AK-47 rifles, handguns, axes and assegais carried by rallygoers. Sporadic gunfire was heard from time to time and stones were thrown at people who refused to sit when the ANC president began his address.

Earlier marshals battled to control the crowd as it thronged forward to get a glimpse of Mr Mandela when he arrived. Nobody appeared to be injured but several people fainted due to the heat. There were anxious moments as Mr Mandela's motorcade inched through the crowd.

Mr Mandela, thanking the crowd for their turnout, then lashed out at the ANC's organisers. "I must condemn in the strongest terms their lack of organisation and their inability to anticipate the crowds.

"It's lucky that nobody has died. I don't want to see this again. If I see such a mess I will have to deal with the region and the branch," he said.

At one stage, Mr Mandela stopped his address to remonstrate with some "ruffians" and at another point he complained about the rough manner in which marshals handled the crowd.

Mr Mandela, referring to the 1960 killings, said there would never be a Sharpeville again.

He then turned to the election campaign, saying the ANC wanted a better life for all. That included houses, education and medical care. He said the ANC's opponents said the ANC was being over-ambitious. What they meant by this, he said, was that providing social services to blacks would be too costly. But the ANC was determined to go ahead with its plans whether its opponents liked it or not.

"The National Party has never cared for the masses of this country," he said.

Mr Mandela, referring to the interim Goldstone Commission report concerning alleged gunrunning said to involve senior policemen, he said there were good policemen in the force and good soldiers in the South African Defence Force.

He then led the crowd through the voting procedure, telling them they must look for his face on the ballot paper and put their cross alongside that face.

The roads of Sharpeville were crowded with buses taking supporters home when the rally finished. Sporadic gunfire punctuated the din.

Earlier, Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] President Clarence Makwetu addressed about 3,000 people at the George Thabe stadium about three kilometres away. Mr Makwetu said the ANC had not wanted to become involved when the PAC launched the pass protests that led to the Sharpeville killings.

He said only the PAC had stuck to its principles and only the PAC could ensure real liberation. The PAC's rhetoric at the rally, complete with "one settler, one bullet", was more militant than the ANC version. But the gathering itself was quieter.

Police Spokesman: De Klerk 'Demoralizing' Force

MB2203102694 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 0500 GMT 22 Mar 94

[Text] Police Public Relations Chief Leon Mellet has denounced President de Klerk's handling of accusations that senior officers had resorted to dirty tricks and gun running to undermine South Africa's march to democracy. In a rare public criticism of a state president by a spokesman for the police force, General Mellet said the accusations had demoralized the police force. He said he was speaking on behalf of the vast majority of police generals.

Kriel Criticizes Response

*MB2203122094 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1154 GMT 22 Mar 94*

[Text] Pretoria March 22 SAPA—Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said on Tuesday [22 March] he took the strongest possible exception to police public relations head Maj-Gen Leon Mellet's remarks on the Goldstone Commission's third force investigation.

Commenting on the report, Gen Mellet said State President F.W. de Klerk had lost a lot of white support and was doing something dramatic to gain black support. Gen Mellet said the matter was unsettling, because it was being done unfairly. "I am upset about the way it was made public."

Mr Kriel said on Tuesday Gen Mellet did not possess relevant information on the matters he commented on. "The comments attributed to him are completely inappropriate for a serving SAP [South African Police] general and do not reflect my views or those of the SA Police as an institution."

Commentary Notes Turning Point in De Klerk-Police Ties

*MB2203115994 Pretoria Radio Pretoria in Afrikaans
0520 GMT 22 Mar 94*

[Station commentary]

[Text] [monitored in progress]...by senior police officers could be the turning point in the already shaky relationship between the police and the De Klerk government. Since the unbanning of the ANC [African National Congress] the revolutionaries' plan to break the power of the police has succeeded, assisted to a considerable degree by the De Klerk government.

The replacement of former Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok by Mr. Hernus Kriel is only one of the demands of the ANC-SACP [South African Communist Party] alliance that have been met, and one could mention several more examples of a planned strategy to undermine the effectiveness and morale of the police.

These developments only serve to strengthen the impression that Mr. F. W. de Klerk's government has betrayed the police. In September 1990, Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe stated that it is important for a government to be able to depend on the absolute loyalty of each member of the police force. Loyalty is only possible if the members of the force trust the government, he added.

He must surely remember those words now that his generals are being placed under the microscope by Goldstone. Justice Goldstone's report this weekend contains allegations which have not been tested in a court of law. The judge seems to be making a habit of releasing reports critical of the country's security forces. His report two

years ago about particular South African Defense Force actions was first presented to the ANC before he took it to the government.

Despite Justice Goldstone's public image as a liberal, he was chosen by the government to carry out a number of investigations into the security forces. His findings on the Sebokeng shootings in 1991 dealt largely with greater control over the South African Police. As a result of the report nine policemen were charged with murder. At present more than 300 policemen are in prison for carrying out their duties. Some are in Death Row.

Hundreds of policemen are murdered every year. In 1991 the SAP introduced voluntary psychological support for stressed and traumatized policemen. Between 1991 and 1993, 132 policemen committed suicide, and the incidence of dismissals due to depression and tension has increased by 300 percent. In 1991 a law was passed by Parliament barring policemen from membership of any political party. This measure was apparently aimed at policemen with right-wing sympathies. Yet a mere two years later, the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union, Popcru, was openly allowed to take part in the marches organized by the ANC-SACP alliance.

AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL stated in 1992 that a purging of generals in the defense and police forces who were unsympathetic toward the new South Africa was imminent. In June of 1993 the ANC warned the SAP that a new government would get rid of any policeman with, quote, blood on his hands. Last month, at the obvious insistence of the ANC, SAP headquarters was asked for a list of all policemen who had fired their weapons at least twice in the course of duty. Despite the loss of more than 14,000 policemen in the past two years, more policemen announced their intention to resign after this incident. Many of them told the Afrikaner Volksfront [National Front] that they could no longer serve a National Party government, in spite of the increased salaries they are being offered in the election campaign.

The SAP is in tatters and reeling. While APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army—military wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress] and MK [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] are causing havoc, the police are subjected to strict codes of conduct, overseas watchdogs, civilian monitoring councils, prosecution, prison sentences, and called to account at the World Trade Center and, worst of all, betrayed by their own. Thousands of members of the police force worry about their future. They know inwardly that they cannot support communism in whatever guise. They belong among their own people where they can defend their heritage. They are welcome in the republic of the Boer Afrikaners.

AWB Condemns Goldstone Report on Third Force
MB2103163494 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1529 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] Pretoria March 21 SAPA—The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement, AWB] on Monday [21 March] condemned as despicable State President F W de Klerk and Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's "offering of police generals as criminals to communist anarchists". The ultra right-wing organisation was reacting to the mandatory leave imposed on Generals Basie Smit, Krappies Engelbrecht and Johan le Roux, who had been implicated in a Goldstone Commission report of "third force" activities.

In a statement, AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche said: (Mr Justice) Goldstone, that Boere-hater and African National Congress apologist has now, without corroborating evidence, used an anonymous, paid informant to throw our senior police generals to the communist wolves."

Mr Terreblanche pledged his organisation's support to the police force and said his whole force would be made available to them to ensure that the country could be a peaceful home to "our children".

"These generals and their troops, who have under life-threatening circumstances dedicated their lives to maintain law and order, are now being offered by (Mr Justice) Goldstone and Mr F W) de Klerk as criminals to the communist anarchists.

"This is typical of the new approach that murderers, rapists, anarchists and other communist criminals have become heroes, while the police is being presented as thugs. How can any police force function if its own government turns against them?"

Mr Terreblanche accused the government of having handed Bophuthatswana over to communist anarchists in the "most treacherous and cunning" manner, adding that it had now seemingly become kwaZulu's turn to be sacrificed.

IFP, ANC Spokesmen Comment on Zulu Sovereignty

MB2103113294 Johannesburg SABC CCV Television Network in English 1730 GMT 20 Mar 94

[Interview with Inkatha Freedom Party Central Executive Committee member Dr. Ben Ngubane in the Johannesburg studio and African National Congress National Executive Committee member Jacob Zuma in the Durban studio by announcer Leslie Mashokwe on the "Newline" program—live]

[Text] [Mashokwe] In this program tonight—the declaration of UDI [unilateral declaration of independence] by His Majesty King Zwelithini on Friday in Ulundi and the cancellation of Dr. Mandela's visit to Ulundi because of an alleged assassination plot. We now welcome Dr.

Ben Ngubane of the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] and a minister in the kwaZulu Government. Good evening to you, sir, and welcome.

[Ngubane] Good evening.

[Mashokwe] Dr. Ngubane, is this an effective unilateral declaration of independence by the Zulus or not?

[Ngubane] Well, if His Majesty wanted to do that, he could have called us into the Legislative Assembly, sat on his throne, and declared us independent. What he was talking about, and it is very clear even in the shots that you played just now, that he was reaffirming the right of the Zulu nation to its kingdom, to its monarchy, to its territory. And this is what he was saying, that we will continue to fight for this. We will not give up. We will not accept the present constitution because it destroys the very essence.

[Mashokwe] But then is there intent on the part of the king to finally declare UDI?

[Ngubane] Well, if there was there would be nothing wrong with that either.

[Mashokwe] But is there?

[Ngubane] Well, I cannot speak for His Majesty. He speaks for the nation, but the Zulu people value their sovereignty, they value what is God-given to them, in terms of territory, political structures, and institutions. They do not want to see...[pauses] We do not want to see that swept away and being made, the future of the Zulu nation being made to be dependent on the decisions of a provincial legislature that is still to be elected.

[Mashokwe] Who is supposed to decide? South Africans sat together in the World Trade Center, sorted out how many regions we are going have, spent hours talking about the new South Africa. This demand, though belated, seemed to pose a threat in that if the Zulu people don't get it, according to His Majesty, then they must be prepared to fight for it.

[Ngubane] Well, Leslie you will remember that we had to move out of the World Trade Center on the 2 July because when we put the argument for the form of state to be decided as a preliminary matter we were refused the chance to debate this issue. That debate would have clarified all these issues that are coming to the fore now. We were refused and steamrolled because people did not want to accept that there are realities that will have to be taken into account when we write a new constitution.

[Mashokwe] I'm trying to understand exactly where we are now in South Africa. The Zulu monarch almost declares UDI, or his intention to do so if he does not respect the new dispensation—then where are we headed for?

[Ngubane] Well, now is crunch time. Now we are facing the real truths, the reality of this country, not the euphoria created by the press around the World Trade

Center happenings, not the attempted universalization of the population of this country. We are facing the truth that we are composed of different nations, different groupings, and all their aspirations and wants must be taken into account when we write a new constitution.

[Mashokwe] Where are we headed for now?

[Ngubane] Well, there is still mediation going on. We are still carrying on with mediation which will actually restructure and help establish proper negotiations. There is still time to resolve these issues amicably. His Majesty made it very clear that he wishes for a peaceful and negotiated restoration of the Zulu kingdom.

[Mashokwe] Is that the cardinal point? If you don't get that restoration then the Zulus must not take part in the elections as he says?

[Ngubane] Well, Leslie, let's put it this way. If you do not eat, you die. There is no choice in that. If we do not get our sovereignty and a proper place within southern Africa, our nation will die. I mean, there is no choice in that matter. We have to face the issue squarely and....

[Mashokwe, interrupting] It's almost like you saying either give it to us or we are not part and parcel of the new dispensation. Then what about the consequences that may follow from that kind of thing?

[Ngubane] Leslie, we are saying—we are not even asking for it to be given to us. We are saying—we are a nation, we have a monarchy. Take us as we are and then let us decide how all these things will be accommodated in the new South Africa.

[Mashokwe] You are almost dictating terms in a situation where people are supposed to be negotiating about the future. Is that being reasonable?

[Ngubane] We tried to negotiate at the World Trade Center, we were refused that opportunity.

[Mashokwe] No, you walked out there....

[Ngubane, interrupting] Well, because we were not being given a chance. We were going to be steam-rollered and overwhelmed. At the end we would be held responsible as spoilers, and so on. We refused that. Now we are saying, South Africa, face up to the reality of the situation. Mediation is offered, let everyone accept that mediation, and let's find a solution.

[Mashokwe] Are you still aware of the fact that there is a division within the Zulu peoples themselves? At yesterday's meeting, for instance, one of the chiefs there said things like, they are not going to obey the king. Is the king not meddling in political matters?

[Ngubane] His Majesty put it very clearly in his speech on Friday. He wants a democratic kwaZulu/Natal region, a democratic kingdom where there will be pluralism in politics, in economics, and in social life. He has

never indicated that he will not tolerate different party-political formations within the kingdom. We shall be a kingdom like Britain is, or like Belgium is.

[Mashokwe] But that's not on offer, Dr. Ngubane. At the moment we're talking of a dispensation that says the king will have a role to play in the new dispensation, and not necessarily a monarchy. [Constitutional Development Minister] Roelf Meyer made this very clear yesterday.

[Ngubane] We don't need Roelf Meyer to offer us our sovereignty or our nationhood. All we are saying is that they must accommodate this reality. Let's sit around the table and see how we'll all work together.

[Mashokwe] But not all the people in the Natal area or kwaZulu area are in agreement with this. Even the Zulus themselves are divided on this issue. Is the king not dividing his people here?

[Ngubane] No. Listen, we are talking here of a state structure, of a state formation that existed before conquest by the British and annexation to Natal. This is not dependent on the wishes of individuals. It is the state structure of the Zulu nation, so some Zulus may differ and have different political opinions or belong to different parties. This is not the issue. The issue is that we have a king, we have got political institutions and structures that characterize the kingdom and the monarchy, and those are the things that we stand firm on—their being sovereign, their right to....

[Mashokwe, interrupting] That does not answer the question on the fact that the Zulu people are divided. There was one very senior person from the monarchy who said they are going to defy the king. Is the king not meddling in politics, Mr. Ngubane?

[Ngubane] Leslie, you surprise me. Look, in any nation there will be different political parties, and people will be free to choose which party they support. This is not relevant to this issue under discussion.

[Mashokwe] It is, absolutely, in the sense that, Dr. Ngubane, you are dealing with Zulu-speaking people in that territory who are expressing a view different from what the king is holding—which is said to be Inkatha-inclined, by the way.

[Ngubane] By the way, do you mean to tell me that if I form a party—XYZ party—I have a right then to say the monarchy must be abolished? I could never have such a right. I would be crazy, unless I was an insurrectionist wanting to wage revolution and so on. There's no way I can demand that an institution like the monarchy....[pauses] No one has the right to do that. It is God-given, it was created by history.

[Mashokwe] You have not yet addressed yourself to the question I asked you, about the divisions in the Zulu people.

[Ngubane] There is a division, because they belong to different political parties.

[Mashokwe] Dr. Ngubane, President de Klerk's offer to the IFP and the kwaZulu government—could it not be tested to make sure that it at least affords you an opportunity to come into the fold, as it were?

[Ngubane] Well, I'm not sure whether you are aware what the details of that offer were, because....

[Mashokwe] Tell me about it, if you want to.

[Ngubane] Well, I'm not entitled to do that, but if you looked at the details of that offer it would mean that the IFP was becoming inconsistent. The reason we are not taking part in this election is that we have been opposed, ever since negotiations, to a two-phase transition process. We've been opposed to allowing a constituent assembly in which the majority party determines what the future constitution of the country is going to be. This has not changed. Despite the amendments that were effected early this year, it has not changed that central issue that we'll be going to the polls to elect a majority party to write its own constitution.

[Mashokwe] Is there still hope, Dr. Ngubane, of the IFP coming into the elections?

[Ngubane] Well, there's no time for that. It would mean substantive changes to the constitution, amendments, and making the constitution properly decentralizing in its nature. There is no time for that.

[Mashokwe] The IFP will not take part in the election?

[Ngubane] It cannot take part, because there is no chance for us to do that.

[Mashokwe] What about allowing other people, then, freedom of political activities in your areas? We've had cases—last week Saturday, for instance, this morning in the Durban area as well—where your people effectively barred the ANC people from making use of a stadium.

[Ngubane] Well, when you say, your people, I'm not sure whether you are talking....

[Mashokwe, interrupting] IFP people.

[Ngubane] No, those were Zulu people. They could have been any number of Zulu people, not necessarily a political party.

[Mashokwe] You're not disowning them, are you?

[Ngubane] I'm not disowning them. They are my fellow men, my fellow nationals. Sure, they are royalists, they were demanding that the king's demands must be respected. Now this is a local thing. I mean, you cannot blame my party for that, the IFP for that. If people feel strongly about things, they do things. Certainly, we would like to avoid anything that disrupts peace and free political activity. It has never been our policy to bar parties from operating freely.

[Mashokwe] But you're barring them from holding their meetings in the Durban area. Local or national, the fact of the matter is it has happened, Dr. Ngubane.

[Ngubane] Leslie, I've just told you. That was not a Central Committee decision. It was not a party decision. If people in the Durban area feel so strongly about an issue—and we don't even know, I mean, the details of it yet. We still need....

[Mashokwe] You're copping out, Dr. Ngubane. Can we just face the fact. All reports have indicated that those people were IFP people, and you're saying to me now that I should believe that those people were not your people?

[Ngubane] Well, Leslie, you know, in this country there have been numerous examples where people at the local level have taken initiatives. One or two probably may don the uniform or an insignia of a party. That does not mean that the party is to be held responsible. I mean, we've seen this with ANC members getting involved in violence, with other parties getting involved in violence. You cannot then go and blame the party.

[Mashokwe] OK. Talk to me about the De Klerk offer. There is a suggestion that you were of heart to join the national list of the NP [National Party].

[Ngubane] Well, what De Klerk offered was something to our president and to our party, and we rejected that because....

[Mashokwe, interrupting] What did he offer?

[Ngubane] Well, I cannot discuss this. I am not mandated to discuss it.

[Mashokwe] But could it not have helped you to jump in?

[Ngubane] No, it would not have helped. It would have been absolutely negative, because we would have been contradicting our own principles.

[Mashokwe] Does it not in any way suggest to you that the king's position would be looked into after the April elections?

[Ngubane] But that's not good enough. I mean, how do you establish a government and then say, we are offering you a chance, when already it's a fait accompli? The king told President de Klerk that he hoped that his demands and his aspirations will be attended to before elections, so that when the elections happen or the final settlement happens everyone is at home with what has been agreed. This has not happened.

[Mashokwe] You're not saying to me that even with the international mediation the IFP will still not see its way clear to join the election at a later stage, for that matter?

[Ngubane] I cannot see how you can now have results that can allow such a process when it is so late in the day. We asked for mediation way back, as far back as December. It was never taken up. It's only taken up very

recently, and even then there's been a lot of dilly-dallying. We have not even assembled the mediation team. That's still going to have to be finalized and wrangled over. So there's just no chance. I mean, our president stated very clearly that if the things that we proposed in our document of 19 December, the substantive changes to the constitution, were accommodated, that would open the way to elections. But the whole process has not allowed that to happen.

[Mashokwe] Talk to me about the third force. You're once again in another Inkatha-gate scandal, having been said to have received guns from these majors and generals. Would Inkatha care to say, yes, we did it?

[Ngubane] Well, I've never heard, even on a single occasion in the Central Committee, such a plan being discussed. If, as happens in this violent country, people resort to their own ways of surviving, we cannot be held responsible for that. But as a party....

Mashokwe, interrupting] You're not condoning it, are you?

[Ngubane] I'm not condoning it, but I'm talking of a reality—that there's violence all over the place. We hear horrendous stories about Transkei handling shipments of arms from Angola, and supplying them to MK [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] cadres, training APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] and other agencies. We hear of all these things. There's so much going on, we'll need everything to be properly investigated.

[Mashokwe] OK, but then already De Klerk has decided to suspend the generals because of the seriousness of this matter. Here we see a leader of the IFP in Transvaal, Mr. Themba Khoza, being implicated. What steps could we expect from you to show your concern about this whole matter?

[Ngubane] But surely this thing, we expect it to be investigated, that evidence will be led, the truth will come out, then we'll decide what to do—I mean, if he is found guilty. But you cannot say...

[Mashokwe, interrupting] You can't actually suspend him, Dr. Ngubane?

[Ngubane] Now? Suspend him on a mere rumor?

[Mashokwe] Goldstone investigated this matter. And on the basis of the initial submissions, President De Klerk has seen it fit to suspend these generals—an act of statesmanship.

[Ngubane] Listen, I'm not saying that the judge should not investigate these things. He should investigate all the causes of public violence. That is his mandate. What I'm saying is, I'm not going to jump on the throat of a colleague because he is accused—which may be false, which may be true—until I have the evidence that it is true. What would our followers say that we jump on our colleagues and we say nothing to Goldstone about him investigating Transkei, General Holomisa, for instance,

and all these shenanigans? Why are those things not being investigated? After all, Ciskei is going to be a participant in the elections. Let Goldstone also investigate those people, let us see the whole picture, the holistic picture, then we can all trust that fairness is being done. At the moment we are not confident that fairness is being done. We think that our party is being singled out for smearing, our party is being castigated all over the world. This has happened before, and we see it as just another follow-up in that typical pattern.

[Mashokwe] Rumors of an alleged assassination plot against ANC President Nelson Mandela shelved a historic meeting between himself and King Goodwill Zwelithini at Ulundi on Friday. The turn of events also interrupted proceedings in the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly, which began its annual sitting on Friday. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi slammed the rumor of the alleged assassination plot as an attempt to destabilize kwaZulu. He also criticized the government for what he called subversive strategy to turn kwaZulu into another Bophuthatswana.

To get clarity on this matter, I have on the line from Durban Mr. Jacob Zuma from the ANC, and still with me in the studio is Dr. Ben Ngubane from the IFP. Good evening to Mr. Zuma, and welcome. Could I get your reaction to the discussion we've had before, mostly on the issue of free political activity in your area?

[Zuma] Leslie, we have had a lot of discussions in relation to the issue of free political activity at all levels. We have been engaged with the peace structures. We have been engaged with the IFP bilaterally. We have discussed with the monitors who are down here. However, we are quite concerned with the recent developments around Durban here, because it does seem that that principle is going to be undermined, judging from the conduct of the supporters of the IFP in the recent....

[Mashokwe, interrupting] Why do you call them supporters of the IFP, Mr. Zuma?

[Zuma] I have been told they are IFP, and supporters of the IFP as well.

[Mashokwe] Mr. Ngubane, you wouldn't agree with the fact that the IFP is engaged in a set-up of disrupting ANC meetings in that area, would you?

[Ngubane] Well, that would be contrary to our positions. We are engaged with the ANC in very delicate negotiations, even on the question of mediation. We would be the last ones to order such a thing, I mean. But as I say, it is a problem. It's symptomatic of the problem that we are having in this country, where a lot of emotions are intensifying and, you know, people are taking law and action to themselves without referring to their party hierarchy. That I cannot rule out, but I am saying, as far as I know, it is certainly not an IFP intention to do this.

[Mashokwe] But if the IFP people are doing it, does that then mean it is not an IFP thing?

[Ngubane] No, no. If we were given names—I mean, you know, given names either through the dispute resolution committees and such other mechanisms, then there is something to work on.

[Mashokwe] OK. Mr. Zuma?

[Zuma] I would like to clarify this question, in particular the incident that took place at Umlazi. Clearly the IFP was involved in that one. They were the ones who said they were going to occupy the stadium to prevent the ANC supporters and ANC members to gather at the stadium in a rally. After that incident I happened to have a chat with an IFP member, who actually gave me the reasons why they decided to do so. That one I cannot doubt, because it was indicated to me quite clearly. The incident currently taking place at kwaMashu, it was reported to me, these were IFP members. But when I had a telephone conversation last night with [IFP National Chairman] Dr. Frank Mdlalose, he then informed me it was the people of the community, although there would be Inkatha members, but they were there as a community. That's why I advisedly at the beginning said the supporters and the IFP members. But there was this very specific information in regard to the Umlazi incident.

[Mashokwe] What do you do, Dr. Ngubane, if presented with these facts?

[Ngubane] Well, certainly it will be discussed in the Central Committee, because it will be a fairly serious state of affairs and a serious allegation. We will look at the individuals involved. We will talk to their regional committees or their branches where they come from. I mean, there are all sorts of processes that will be set in place.

[Mashokwe] OK. Mr. Zuma, was Mr. Mandela's safety guaranteed, his venue, on Friday when he was supposed to be with the king?

[Zuma] Certainly, as you'd know, Leslie, we had worked very hard for this meeting because we believe it is important that a meeting between the president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, and his majesty the king is critical in the circumstances, and we made all the agreements and arrangements. As we were preparing to proceed to Ulundi, we first heard the announcement that there was an invitation to a lot of people to come and join the meeting.

[Mashokwe] Was that not part of the prearrangement?

[Zuma] No, that was not arranged. There was, of course—I must indicate this—there was an indication which could have meant this one, which was in the letter written by the chief minister when we were finalizing the arrangement, the letter that said the meeting that was to take place on Friday was no longer like the old arrangement kind of meeting that was supposed to take place between the president of the ANC and His Majesty the king. It would now...[pauses] Because of the issues that had been raised publicly by the president of the ANC, an interest had been

generated among the royal family members, the ama-Khosi, and other subjects of the king. There was that indication in the letter. There were no details as to the extent of the meeting. My own impression then was that perhaps, instead of a meeting with two small delegations, you would have a bigger delegation from his majesty the king's side. That's how I understood it.

[Mashokwe] OK, Mr. Zuma, hold it right there. Dr. Ngubane, those AK-wielding people who came to the meeting surely do not pose any form of safety for Mandela's visit in Ulundi?

[Ngubane] Well, I didn't see them except on the screen. The police were there, so, you know, really, it's a matter beyond me, beyond, you know, a member of government. Obviously anything that may lead to public violence has got to be curbed and dealt with. I regret, and President Dr. Buthelezi has regretted, the fact that President Mandela couldn't come to Ulundi, because it would have been a very important step in the further evolution of a negotiated settlement.

[Mashokwe] OK, but if you say you didn't see them, Mr. Ngubane, then it does give weight to the fact that they could even have shot without you having seen them. If you didn't see the AKs that everybody saw, what safety could then be guaranteed for a Mandela visit in Ulundi?

[Ngubane] What I'm getting at is, we have seen occasions here, gatherings, be they ANC, be they IFP, where people have brought in dangerous weapons. It is the duty of the security forces to deal with this. I do not think it was impossible for the security forces to handle that situation.

[Mashokwe] Mr. Zuma, the SAP [South African Police], kwaZulu Police, SADF [South African Defense Force] were invited. Was that not enough security then?

[Zuma] Yes, there was an indication when we raised the issue with the IFP leader, Dr. Frank Mdlalose, the national chairperson of the IFP, there was an indication that preparations had been worked out to ensure that security was handled appropriately. But of course there were a number of reports that came to our head office from different points and corners, pointing to the danger which made our head office feel that it was not advisable for the president of the ANC to proceed to the meeting. We then proceeded to request a postponement or a change of venue.

[Ngubane] Well, you know, a visit by Dr. Mandela to Ulundi is a historic and momentous event. It is impossible to expect people not to take an interest in coming to this. Obviously the type of meeting we had has been held before—in discussions with the state president in Pretoria, even in Durban, where people go to accompany His Majesty. At the end of the discussions His Majesty comes out and addresses them about the conclusions reached. This has happened on several occasions, so there was nothing strange about that. It is just unfortunate—and I must repeat, we regret very much that the

meeting could not take place. As for the future, I cannot see how you can prescribe to His Majesty that he should tell the Zulu people, don't accompany me when I'm going to meet a prominent statesman of this country; stay at home. I cannot see that situation.

[Mashokwe] Mr. Zuma, the ANC must be smiling to the bank now that revelations have been made of the third force. The IFP is implicated, of course. What can you tell us?

[Zuma] Well, Leslie, you know that for a long time now the ANC has made a claim that this violence in this country had a third force operating and manipulating it. We have said the reason that agreements that are forged at the political level, the reason that they are not implementable is because there are forces behind the scenes that manipulate the violence. Everybody has said to us: You are making false claims. Of course, we have said this because we knew and because we had information. But, of course, as long as our information was not investigated or verified by a respectable judge, it was easy for people to dismiss what we were saying. Even when there were cases like the Trustfeed case, where police were in fact investigated, charged, and convicted—still people undermined this particular area. I think it is clear now that what the ANC has been saying is actually the truth.

[Mashokwe] Right. Let me get Dr. Ngubane to react again to this issue, and ask my production team to play in the insert which shows that IFP people, Zulu people, were carrying these AK-47s, which, we have reason to believe, might have come from the very generals.

[Ngubane] Well, Leslie, I must object very strenuously to your blanket statement that the IFP is involved. Individuals may be involved, but not my party.

[Mashokwe] OK, IFP members then.

[Ngubane] Well, we don't know about that. We must still find out about it. But I want to come back to what Mr. Zuma has just said. Who has killed more than 400 IFP office bearers? Surely someone has killed them, and I'm not sure whether I can just say it's the third force and leave it at that. Who started SDU [self-defense units] and armed them in the townships? It was Msholozzi's organization that did that. Who brought the culture of violence and people's war?

[Mashokwe] Let me get the team to play the insert, Dr. Ngubane, while you talk.

[Ngubane] No, but I am saying, you know, this is very simplistic to then suddenly apportion blame to us as being responsible for violence in this country.

[Mashokwe] Let's watch that tape. OK, while we wait for the tape to roll, we have to go back to you. Mr. Zuma, your people, your organization cannot claim to be angels.

[Zuma] I haven't said the ANC claims to be angels. I think it is a well known fact that there's been a conflict in this country, and one of these areas has been the conflict between the IFP members and ANC members. Nobody

denies that fact. What we have persistently said is that there is a third force that manipulates, that controls and directs violence, that ensures that weapons are supplied, are bought, are circulated. This is the point we are making. My statement does not necessarily say ANC people have not been involved in violence.

[Mashokwe] But have they received these arms from the police, as Inkatha is said to have received them?

[Zuma] The ANC members have not received weapons from the police. The police have always seen the ANC as the enemy.

[Ngubane] I don't even know how true [it is] that our members have received weapons. We still need proof of this. But nevertheless I am saying, let us not be simplistic. Let's look at the violence for what it is, a monster that it is, and deal with it not in a way that gains oneupmanship for one party against the other. To deal with the matter in this manner makes cooperation in stemming the violence impossible. Let us look at what it is. If there are people who are guilty of wrongdoing, let the law take its course.

[Mashokwe] OK. I must mention that we had invited the generals together with General Johan van der Merwe of the SAP, and the generals who are implicated in this whole third force issue, and they have failed to turn up. We have not even heard from the minister of police, who was invited to be part and parcel of this discussion. Let's continue, gentlemen. The IFP is implicated, obviously; Themba Khoza is a leader of the Transvaal IFP. Is IFP....

[Ngubane, interrupting] But I am refusing to accept this type of judgmental statement. It has been alleged. It's not proven yet, you know, and really we believe that a man is not guilty until proven. Now why are you judging the IFP so harshly?

[Mashokwe] I'm not judging it. All I'm saying is in a question form: The Goldstone Commission has identified a Mr. Khoza as being one of the recipients of these things.

[Ngubane] Well, you know, again I must say, until proven I cannot go by that statement. Nevertheless, how many other people are receiving weapons in this country?

[Mashokwe] Two wrongs do not make a right.

[Ngubane] I agree, but I'm saying until we address the whole thing from a holistic perspective we are going to be fiddling on the sides of the problem, at the periphery of the problem.

[Mashokwe] Mr. Zuma, your situation down there—free political activity and these guns that we see around. Would you be able to be campaigning in that area?

[Zuma] Leslie, it is clear that we are faced with a serious situation here in Natal, and I think decisions that have been taken at the multiparty negotiating forum need to be implemented here. I don't think we can delay those

decisions any longer. I think the events of the past two weekends are an indication of this fact. You must know that people here in Natal are determined to participate in the election. They want to do so free and fair, without intimidation, and I think....

[Mashokwe] Right, let me get back to Dr. Ngubane. I am left with one second. Dr. Ngubane, people want to participate. Are you going to stop them?

[Ngubane] No, we are not going to stop them. We will tell them why we are not participating in this poll.

[Mashokwe] On that note, Dr. Ngubane, Mr. Zuma, thanks for talking to us and giving us your time.

Buthelezi Views ANC, Government Opportunism

*MB2103205994 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2037 GMT 21 Mar 94*

[Text] Ulundi March 21 SAPA—KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] President Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Monday [21 March] he could not imagine the elections being conducted smoothly without the participation of kwaZulu's people. Addressing the sixth session of the kwaZulu legislative assembly, Mr Buthelezi said: "I cannot see that a large number of the people of kwaZulu/Natal will be willing participants in the elections."

Mr Buthelezi accused the government and the African National Congress [ANC] of using the power of the state to shake the country and seize power at the polls. "They have the laws which were made to assist them, and the security forces which they are reconstituting to apply the laws in their favour," he said.

Mr Buthelezi said kwaZulu took a stand against the interim constitution because its grassroots constituency had demanded it. "There is a vast Zulu concern about the future governance of kwaZulu/Natal, which they see as the kingdom of kwaZulu.

"I warn that should the ANC attempt to destabilise the kwaZulu government, as it destabilised Bophuthatswana and has threatened destabilisation against the Ciskei, a conflict of awesome proportions will be unleashed to the tragic detriment of South Africa and the democratic process."

Mr Buthelezi said his rejection of the interim constitution, the Transitional Executive Council and other transitional mechanisms carried with it powerful conviction that the Zulu people would not be robbed of their right to self-determination.

IFP on ANC-SACP Plan To Destabilize Kwazulu

*MB2203085794 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0656 GMT 22 Mar 94*

[Statement by Suzanne Vos, member of the IFP Central Committee, issued by the office of the chief minister of kwaZulu on the SAPA PR wire service on 22 March]

[Text] The Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] yesterday provided Mr Justice Richard Goldstone with a copy of a document, obtained by an informant, outlining ANC [African National Congress]/SACP [South African Communist Party] proposals to produce a situation of "ungovernability" and "crisis" in kwaZulu through "mass action", including the destabilisation of the kwaZulu civil service.

The central committee of the IFP is in no doubt that this document is authentic and has requested Judge Goldstone to investigate its contents as a matter of urgency. The informant cannot be publicly identified for reasons of his/her safety.

The document (attached) reveals sinister ANC/SACP plans to secretly orchestrate "emerging instability" in kwaZulu, leading to TEC [Transitional Executive Council] and military intervention, while publicly downplaying the actual and direct involvement of the alliance.

The author(s) confirm reports from IFP intelligence sources that there are approximately 2,000 members of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] (MK) deployed in so-called "self-defence" units [SDU] throughout Natal, working together with members of the Transkei Defence Force and "several thousand" informally trained SDU members.

Cynical reference is made to "carefully considered" approaches to his majesty the king of the Zulu nation, designed "as a means to an end—the destruction of Buthelezi's political and social base." We have provided Judge Goldstone with official ANC documentation using the same language.

The contents of this document go far beyond robust politics and we believe the proposals, if implemented, would plunge kwaZulu/Natal into full-scale civil war.

The IFP and the kwaZulu government have long borne the brunt of a sustained campaign of violence and intimidation initiated by the ANC/SACP alliance and there is already evidence that the steps, as outlined, to attempt to destabilise the kwaZulu civil service have begun. The untruthful and insidious propaganda about the safety of kwaZulu government pensions (paid, in fact, to the South African Government in terms of the South African Government Pensions Fund Act of 1956) is but one example.

The document is taken seriously and viewed with alarm as the tactics and strategies enunciated merely follow through existing and blatant ANC/SACP political machinations ignored, of the most part, by what appears to be a national and international conspiracy of silence and obfuscation in holding the ANC/SACP alliance directly accountable for its overt ANC covert actions in kwaZulu/Natal, Bophuthatswana, and elsewhere.

March 21, 1994

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone,

Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation,
4th Floor, 24 Sandpark Building,
Fredman Drive Sandton. (by hand)

Dear Sir,

With Ref: "Prepare the Anvil for the Coming Hammer Towards a Programme of Action in Natal"

I have been instructed by the president of Inkatha Freedom Party, Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to provide you with a copy of a document (attached) which was obtained by an informant late last week.

The informant insists that his/her identity remain a secret and that under no circumstances can it be revealed as the person fears for his/her life. This informant insists that the document is genuine and was produced by a senior member(s) of the SACP/ANC alliance. Any further details in this regard would jeopardise revealing the identity of the informant.

The document was studied by the central committee of the IFP at a meeting on Saturday, March 19. It was the view of the central committee that the contents warrant your immediate attention and urgent investigation.

We highlight, in particular, the intention to produce a situation of "ungovernability" and "crisis" in kwaZulu through "mass action", combined with other strategies as described, including the destabilisation of the kwaZulu civil service.

The author(s) of the document outline tactics to produce "emerging instability" in kwaZulu, secretly orchestrated, noting that "direct ANC involvement must be played down."

"Immediate proposals" call for (in part) creating condition??V??Zich would lead to "future military intervention in kwaZulu" and the direct involvement of the TEC.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone:

The IFP equally views as extremely sinister the expressed requirement of "restrengthening of an effective MK's (sic) presence and more active implementation of people's self-defence measures", coupled with the information that there are "approximately 2,000 MK members deployed in a self-defence capacity throughout Natal, several thousand informally trained SDU members, as well as disposition of some members of the TDF (Transkei Defence Force)."

The author(s) admit "successful and long-term efforts by the people's movement to isolate Buthelezi and separate Inkatha from its constituency and potential constituencies", which we observe is a direct acknowledgement of the tactics of violence and intimidation employed against members and supporters of the IFP over a considerable period of time.

We have every reason to believe that this document is authentic and goes far beyond robust politics in its call for the creation of conditions "for the fall of kwaZulu" and efforts to "win over" his majesty the king of the Zulu nation through "carefully considered and assessed approaches" as a "means to an end—the destruction of Buthelezi's political and social base."

We therefore formally request that your commission accepts the very real concern expressed by the IFP in urging that this document and the information as well as the tactics and strategies outlined therein be taken extremely seriously.

It has been decided that we will release the document to the media tomorrow, Tuesday March 22, following your receipt today of this communication.

[Signed] Yours sincerely, Suzanne Vos Member, Central Committee, IFP

Copies: Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President
Dr F. T. Mdlalose, National Chairman

Prepare the Anvil for the Coming Hammer Towards a Programme of Action in Natal

The recent period has seen further-dramatic shifts in the balance of power towards the people's camp. The collapse of the Mangope regime in the Bophutatswana bantustan is a signal achievement in this regard.

The demise of the tyrant Mangope represents a serious reverse for the forces of counter-revolution in our country. It is a reverse from which these forces cannot recover. Continuing maximum all-round pressure must continue to be exerted against remaining, and weakening obstacles to a democratic transition.

The most significant outstanding obstacle which confronts the people's movement is the problem of Buthelezi and the IFP. Events in Bop [Bophuthatswana], combined with the deteriorating situation in Natal now urge the accelerated implementation of a strategy, which though generally accepted within the movement, needs to be more fully elaborated.

That strategy is the destruction of the kwaZulu bantustan and its reincorporation within a united, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa. Though timing is important, the fact of kwaZulu's reincorporation, together with the destruction of Buthelezi's power-base cannot be gainsaid. Whether that emerges as a final moment, or whether that destruction is process-based, conditions for the fall of the kwaZulu bantustan must speedily be created.

Bop has served to underline the fatal weakness of all the bantustan administrations. That is that they cannot survive for long without the financial support from the De Klerk government. Combined with the long-standing programme of mass action against Mangope, the mere threat that the tap would be tightened, combined to

create a situation of ungovernability, culminating in an effective military coup by South African security forces.

Though conditions in kwaZulu and Bop differ materially, and the strategy of the people's movement towards the Mangope regime cannot be mechanistically applied, our strategy towards kwaZulu includes important common elements.

There can be no doubt that sufficient consensus now exists within the TEC for using maximum firmness for dealing with threats to a democratic transition. But we must first create conditions, primarily through mass action, heightened public awareness and work amongst kwaZulu civil servants, for decisive state intervention in that bantustan. In other words, we must need to prepare the anvil for the coming hammer.

Successful and long-term efforts by the people's movement to isolate Buthelezi and separate Inkatha from its constituency and potential constituencies have unfortunately been offset by serious and unexpected reverses in the Natal region. Principally this is evident in the growth of ethnic chauvinism under the banner of the Zulu King Zwelithini. Not only has this stabilised Buthelezi's support base, but this unprecedented and dangerous ethnic mobilisation poses a grave threat to the united non-racial South Africa which is the lodestar of the liberation movement.

This expanding chauvinist mobilisation is combined with increasing militarisation or this reactionary constituency, assisted by the cynical involvement of former members of the apartheid security forces. This militarisation, which has at its core the provision of military training to IFP supporters has contributed to the dramatic upswing in violence against the people's movement in both Natal and the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] region.

These dangers counsel for accelerated implementation of a strategy which has as its objective the destruction of the kwaZulu bantustan. Apart from the burning need to create conditions in which free and fair elections can be held, it is only the destruction of the kwaZulu bantustan, and its reincorporation under a government committed to non-racial goals, that the poisonous weed of tribal chauvinism can be finally cut down and the violence attached to its obnoxious cause effectively suppressed.

Immediate proposals for the ending of this state of affairs are as follows.

—The Natal situation should be more closely monitored by a task force of the TEC, and decisive practical steps recommended vis-a-vis the Natal situation. All intelligence reports generated within state intelligence organisations which relate to the Natal situation should therefore be provided to and analysed by this task force.

—Parts of Natal should be declared disaster areas and similar steps taken here as on the East Rand. Principally, security force functions presently carried out by the ISD [Internal Stability Division] should be assumed by the SADF [South African Defense Force] and NPKF [National Peacekeeping Force].

In particular, those units which proved themselves most reliable in Bophutatswana, should be considered for priority deployment in crisis areas of Natal. For its part, the SAP [South African Police] in Natal may well prove unreliable in any such TEC initiative. With a view to future military intervention in kwaZulu, the SAP leadership in Natal must be firmly subordinated to the TEC.

—The military training and deployment of IFP members in Natal also requires restrengthening of an effective MK's presence, and more active implementation of people's self-defence measures. In any event any security action considered by the TEC should be supplemented by informal MK deployments.

According to intelligence sources approximately 5,000 IFP members have been trained in a relatively short space of time. Counterpoised to this private army are approximately 2,000 MK members deployed in a self-defence capacity throughout Natal, several thousand informally trained SDU members, as well as disposition of some members of the TDF.

The development of what is by all accounts a disciplined IFP military capability—an important factor in political violence in the Natal region and beyond—is deeply disturbing and requires urgent TEC attention. This training and the murderous activities of its products need to be suppressed as a matter of urgency.

—The TEC also needs to assume the payment of salaries of amakhosi [chiefs] subordinating reactionary institutions to the control of the TEC and a new democratic order is necessary not only a prelude to their transformation, but it removes an important instrument of social control from the hands of Buthelezi and the IFP.

—The IEC [Independent Electoral Commission] needs to assume a far more active role in Natal.

—This must be combined with the organisation of a broad front of forces against any disruption of elections or further chauvinist inspired attempts to balkanize the country. This organisation could also serve as the basis for further isolation of Buthelezi and the IFP.

—Most critical of all is work amongst the kwaZulu civil service, and efforts to win over the Zulu king. In this regard Zuma's diplomacy should be understood as a means to an end—the destruction of Buthelezi's political and social base. Apart from Zuma's sympathy for the incarnations and institutions of tribal consciousness, he may confuse the means as an end in itself. Approaches to the king therefore must be carefully

considered and assessed and continuously oriented within the purposeful strategic framework of the liberation movement.

Organisation amongst civil servants must be immediately stepped up. Though significant advances have already been made in this regard and important sectors of the kwaZulu civil service are already organised by the ANC and allied formations, continuing efforts must be made to persuade civil servants that job security and their pensions can only be secured by a people's government and not by tribal despots of Buthelezi's mould. One may go so far to say that the kwaZulu civil service is the most important base of ANC support north of the Tugela. And, even though the KZP [kwaZulu Police] have traditionally functioned as Buthelezi's private army, increasingly members of the KZP, including command elements, side with the people's movement. It is clear that in a situation of crisis Buthelezi cannot take the loyalty of the KZP for granted.

One of the stabilising pillars of the bantustans under apartheid rule was the development of a bureaucratic bourgeoisie whose interests were fundamentally bound up with the continued existence of these administrations. This pillar has now been removed. The class interests of this stratum now lie outside the bantustan administrations. Only a new, non-racial democratic state can secure its interests. This motivation was a principal factor in rendering Bophuthatswana ungovernable.

Though the kwaZulu administration differs in that it has a social base, a vast number of civil servants do not identify with this base. Thus, whilst the kwaZulu administration poses a challenge to the people's forces, this challenge is hardly insurmountable. The role of white civil servants and central state appointees should not be overlooked. A common commitment between the people's movement enlightened elements of the SAG [South African Government] to foreclose upon the powers of the kwaZulu bantustan, as in Bop, could lead to further disorganisation of efforts by IFP and tribal loyalists within the kwaZulu bantustan administration to resist TEC decisions and to act against our own organisation within those structures.

Combined with mass action, and stepped up organisation within the sectors of the kwaZulu government, a situation of ungovernability could reproduce itself fairly rapidly in the areas it administers. Though the consequences will be more extensive than in Bop, this should not deter us from the political correctness of such a strategy. It is important however for this crunch moment to have an appearance of spontaneity and popular support. Direct ANC involvement must be played down.

Emerging instability within kwaZulu, as well as providing an increased public profile to acts of violence, particularly when directed against the ANC and its allies

should provide a persuasive argument for TEC intervention in kwaZulu. The tempo and extent of that intervention will be conditioned by development of these conditions and the degree of resistance encountered by the TEC.

Comrades within the TEC have made it clear that in conditions of growing instability or ungovernability, and partial or general uprising, or organised resistance to the imperatives of a new democratic order, that as in Bop, decisive military steps will be taken. In this regard no centre of counter-revolution or tribal chauvinism which stands outside the process of popular integration should be considered exempt from pre-emptive action.

IFP: Repeat of Bophuthatswana in Natal Not Possible

MB1903181294 Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN in English 18-24 Mar 94 p 17

[Article by Inkatha Freedom Party national spokesman Ziba Jiyane on the "Opinion" page]

[Text] Manufacturing the Bophuthatswana crisis was manna from heaven for those believing the best means of dealing with political opposition is to crush it. And target number 1 is, of course, the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] and kwaZulu government. That this deluded thinking is on the agenda is evident from the statement by Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU] vice-president George Nkadimeng over the weekend. Speaking in Durban, he said that if Bophuthatswana could overthrow Mangope: "why can't we do it here?"

His rhetorical question should not be misunderstood—ANC [African National Congress] hardliners have always displayed a callous disregard for the Queensbury rules of politics, and we have no doubt there are plenty of likeminded militants in kwaZulu/Natal who would welcome the opportunity to "concretise their revolutionary fervor" through a repeat of Bophuthatswana.

The simple answer to Nkadimeng's question, however, is "because it won't work"—and this is not for want of trying. Despite approximately 350 IFP office bearers having been assassinated by the ANC, SACP [South African Communist Party] and MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe—Spear of the Nation, ANC military wing] since they brought violence to the kwaZulu/Natal region; despite the ready availability of arms and ammunition stockpiled in caches around the region; despite safe havens in and logistical support from the Transkei; despite roving MK hit squads intimidating communities; despite the training of thousands and thousands of cadres—despite all these, kwaZulu and the IFP are still here.

One should recall the attempt by the tripartite alliance in 1990 to have kwaZulu "disbanded." This tragic decision, condemned by the Pan Africanist Congress, AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization] and others, inevitably resulted in a terrible bloodbath from which South Africa has never recovered. Since disbanding

kwaZulu "was somehow equated with destroying the IFP countrywide, the campaign was initiated by calls to "the people" to wipe the IFP off the face of the Reef.

That the East Rand is what it is today is directly attributable to this savage display of intolerance and hunger for power through the barrel of the gun. But kwaZulu and the IFP are still here.

One should recall the alliance again reverting to its old tricks, when, having failed to get its way at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], it embarked upon "mass action" from June 1993 to force the government's compliance with the ANC's negotiating demands.

The euphemism "mass action" included calls to overthrow a number of administrations perceived as hostile—Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and kwaZulu in particular. We all know what happened at Bisho, but strangely enough, despite repeated statements by the kwaZulu/Natal ANC leadership that the campaign was still on in this region, in fact it never occurred. The reason is that it was never possible, and the ANC was very aware of the likely results of attempting it.

Where does that leave us now? Despite trying every trick in the book to secure a weak and compliant IFP, the ANC is faced with a powerful IFP and kwaZulu government sticking resolutely to their principles—which at present include the fact that we will not be participating in elections unless certain fundamental problems we have with the constitution are addressed.

But this presents a problem to the ANC and government which, while stating publicly that our participation is essential, privately believe there is no need to take our concerns seriously enough to facilitate this through amending the constitution.

Fearing the results of our possible non-participation however, they are therefore seeking a means of securing their interests while denying us ours by "levelling the playing field" in the region in anticipation of our non-participation.

Earlier ANC suggestions—such as that kwaZulu's budget be unilaterally suspended—to force our compliance are now being replaced with the notion of TEC [Transitional Executive Council] intervention and the deployment of a massive security force presence to "minimise violence," despite the IFP having decided that non-participation would be strictly peaceful and legal. In terms of this scenario, following April 27, the kwaZulu government will be replaced and the IFP will quietly get lost in the political wilderness while Jacob Zuma and his merry band take over.

The big question, of course, is whether this scenario is realistic. Notwithstanding the avalanche mentality of the deal-makers (nothing can stop the inevitable), there are good grounds for believing that things will not be quite as simple as this, and there would without doubt be a host

of difficulties associated with the imposition of a constitution and of a government elected under it, neither of which reflect the region's popular will.

It is this central fact that will frustrate any attempted repeat of Bophuthatswana here, just as it has frustrated the ANC in the past. That is why the overthrow of Ulundi is no more than a pipe dream. Not only that, attempts to implement such a policy would merely strengthen, rather than weaken the IFP's hand, as the anti-democrats will be perceived for what they really are—political bullies of the nastiest type.

Our advertisement in last week's Sunday newspapers urged people to "vote IFP when the time comes": We hope this is soon, and if those parties comprising the Transitional Executive Council were to devote more time to finding solutions to the crisis rather than trying to ignore them or trying to create a new crisis of vast proportions, then we could get on with the task at hand—holding elections for a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Bophuthatswana? Let me assure you, it will not happen in kwaZulu/Natal.

ANC's Mbeki: Mandela To Be Inaugurated in Pretoria

MB2003070094 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2159 GMT 19 Mar 94

[By Ben MacLennan]

[Text] East London March 19 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] leader Nelson Mandela is to be inaugurated as South Africa's new state president on May 10 in Pretoria, according to ANC National Chairman Thabo Mbeki. He made the announcement at an ANC fund-raising dinner in East London on Saturday [19 March]. "It is planned that the new president, Nelson Mandela I think, will be installed, inaugurated on the 10th May, a big occasion in Pretoria." It had to be in Pretoria because Pretoria was the seat of power and government in the country. "For years we fought against the Pretoria regime. On the 10th May we ought to be (talking of) the Pretoria government."

He said the ANC had been receiving numerous queries from heads of state and of government in other countries asking whether there would be victory celebrations after the April election, or an inauguration of the new president. "Everybody wants to come," he said. The mayor of Pretoria and "all sorts of people" were concerned about the prospect of having the inauguration in the city. "They are very worried not because they don't want change," he said, to laughter from his audience, "but because they say Pretoria won't be able to handle the volume of visitors that are going to come".

Mr Mbeki said if South Africa failed to make the transition to a peaceful and successful democracy, it would disappoint millions of people across the globe.

"And that we can't do. Too much has been invested by the rest of the world in ending apartheid."

There was a picture in many peoples' minds that Africans were incompetent, always holding out a begging bowl, had no respect for democracy, were always at each others' throats and that Africa was "generally a disaster". "The rest of the continent is expecting this new South Africa will change all that so the rest of the world will see an African country that is a success in terms of a political system, human rights, an absence of conflict and prosperity...so the rest of the world can begin to say our understanding of Africa was wrong."

These expectations meant that in the end, South Africa had to make a success of the process of change. Other countries where racism had raised its head, such as Sweden, France, Germany and England, were hoping South Africa would provide the lessons that would enable them to deal with their own problems. "I'm saying we've got to solve, we've got to succeed here in the interest of making a better world for millions of people."

He also said South Africa needed a strong ANC government to ensure that the country's millions were all brought into the settlement. If the ANC was too weak to do so, other people would move into the vacuum. Some of them might preach revenge against the whites who had oppressed them for three-and-a-half centuries.

He said the country would also need a strong National Party to bring white civil servants, the police and white business into the settlement.

Constand Viljoen Explains Quitting Volksfront

MB1903162794 Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN in English 18-24 Mar 94 p 2

[By Jan Taljaard]

[Text] Bureaucratic footdragging and nitpicking inside the Afrikaner Volksfront [Afrikaner National Front, AVF], the misguided belief that a volkstaat [homeland] can be sustained after being seized by military force and lack of discipline within the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement, AWB] are among the key reasons given by General Constand Viljoen for quitting the AVF. In a remarkably frank "message on AVF developments" faxed to some of his closest supporters this week, which has been acquired by the MAIL & GUARDIAN, Viljoen attempted to explain his actions.

The fax comes against the background of the growing fragmentation of the right. Yesterday Viljoen's Freedom Front registered a number of breakaway Conservative Party [CP] leaders on its 30-strong national and 168-strong regional lists, including CP MPs Corne Mulder, Pieter Mulder, Carl Werth (the party's Natal leader), Pieter Groenewald and Leon Louw. CP boss Ferdi Hartzenburg insisted that CP MPs standing as election candidates for another party would be automatically expelled.

Viljoen is blunt in his condemnation of the AWB: "It is known that I am taking a strong stand against the AWB, especially because of the effect of some of their actions on the image of the AVF and because of their refusal to obey military leadership and orders."

Viljoen laid the blame for the military failure of the rightwing forces in Bophuthatswana at its doorstep: "It has come to my attention the military personnel of the logistics base of Bop mutinied when they heard that the AWB was involved and the weapons were intended for the AWB. Because of this a great number of the Boer forces did not receive weapons and could not be deployed."

Also taking a beating were AVF supporters who advocate armed resistance in order to attain a volkstaat. Viljoen reasoned that the rightwing will not be able to hold on to such a volkstaat.

"Holding on to what you have conquered—not only on a military level, but also on financial and other levels—is something that has to be considered carefully. Many members of the controlling structures differed with me ... and were feeling the time had come for us to use our military power to gain what we could not attain on the political front."

"Even though we are strong on the military level, it is necessary that this strength be exercised as a last resort and that cognisance be taken of the misery that could be the result of military violence, as was the case in Bophuthatswana."

The fax makes it clear that Viljoen remains a fervent advocate of the volkstaat ideal. He nevertheless cautions that even if a sovereign volkstaat could be negotiated, it would be economically and constitutionally linked to the larger South Africa. He gives this as one of the reasons he favours a negotiated option and participation in the election.

It also becomes apparent that differences on this issue were the major bone of contention between himself and other members the AVF. "If we were to establish a volkstaat on a legal basis, there is a legal requirement: we have to prove our support among the Afrikaners. The government refuses a referendum before April 27. A referendum after April 27 is unthinkable. The only alternative open to us at this stage is to take part in the elections and then to use the votes for the AVF as indication of this support."

"This is a difficult idea to accept, but our critics gave us no choice."

The frustration felt by the military man of action when confronted by the bureaucratic foot-dragging of professional politicians becomes apparent: "My sense of urgency, the government's speeding up of the process and a heavy workload could most certainly have created the impression that I acted on my own with the situation always changing, and without always meeting with the appropriate committees and governing bodies."

Viljoen ends the four-page message on a rather despondent note: "Naturally, it is not easy to argue clinically about something that was so important to me during the past year. To me, achieving our aim is an ideal—our volkstaat an all-consuming obsession. I cannot continue when I feel that constraints are rendering me ineffective.

"There comes a time when it is best to make a decision. I am committed to achieving our ideal, and hope to lead the Vryheidsfront [Freedom Front] parallel with the AVF to do that."

CP Defectors Said To Include Grassroots Leaders

MB2003112794 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 20 Mar 94 p 9

[Report by Edyth Bulbring]

[Excerpts] The defection of key members to General Constand Viljoen's fledgling Freedom Front this week ripped the guts out of the Conservative Party [CP] and the umbrella right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront [Afrikaner National Front, AVF]. The further defection of leading grassroots CP members such as mayors and management committee chairmen has laid waste plans by the CP and AVF to exploit their control over 80 rural towns to hinder change and disrupt the elections.

The 36-member CP parliamentary caucus has been decimated by the decision by nine of its members to fight an election under the Freedom Front banner. Its numbers are likely to dwindle further with the resignation from active politics after the election of seven members who are getting old or disillusioned with politics. [passage omitted]

Those likely to retire include frontbench finance spokesman Cas Uys, Willie van der Merwe, Piet de la Rey and Daan Du Plessis.

In addition to the MPs, General Viljoen also persuaded more than 150 leading grassroots members of the CP to join him in contesting the elections. They include mayors, councillors and businessmen who were the backbone of the CP in terms of organisation and raising funds. [passage omitted]

Nine Parties Receive Electoral Fund Payments

MB2203065594 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0030 GMT 22 Mar 94

[Text] Johannesburg March 21 SAPA—The Independent Electoral Commission [IEC] announced on Monday [21 March] that nine political parties registered for the April election have received payments from the state electoral fund.

The parties are the National Party, Democratic Party, African National Congress, Pan-Africanist Congress, Freedom Front, Minority Front, Dikwankwetla [strong], Worker's List Party and Soccer Party.

The IEC said in a statement the payments made varied from just over R48,000 [rand] to about R1.2 million after the parties had submitted either an acceptable opinion poll indicating their support or a list of signatures from supporters. It added the money was for the exclusive purpose of conducting election campaigns, and the parties had complied with section 74 of the Electoral Act.

"An amount of R11 million, half of the R22 million available in the fund, will be distributed among participating parties before the election and the balance afterwards," the IEC said.

Parties that have not yet applied had been given until 4.30 PM on Friday, March 25, to submit lists of signatures as required by the Electoral Act. "If they supply adequate and proper lists, money from the electoral fund will be paid to them," the statement said.

Kriel Remains NP Western Cape Premier Candidate

MB2103174494 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1500 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel is to remain in his post as the National Party [NP] premiership candidate in the Western Cape, despite the uproar over the alleged involvement by three police generals in a so-called third force. The uproar followed the release of a report by the Goldstone Commission of the involvement by the police and the Inkatha Freedom Party in violence and arm smuggling.

A spokesman from Mr. Kriel's office said the minister regarded the Goldstone findings as accusations and is awaiting the result of the international investigation team appointed by the state president.

Democratic Party Said Losing Business Support

MB2003111794 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 20 Mar 94 p 9

[Report by Ray Hartley]

[Excerpt] The first cracks in the DP's [Democratic Party] traditional big-business support base appeared this week when Anglo American directors Clem Sunter and Michael O'Dowd placed their support for Frances Kendall's Federal Party [FP] on the record. Anglo American and De Beers have for years been regarded as the DP's most important business backers. Mr O'Dowd is chairman of the Anglo and De Beers Chairman's Fund, while Mr Sunter is the head of Anglo's Scenario Planning Department.

DP leader Zach de Beer said he would not comment on whether or not Anglo and De Beers continued to back his party. "That is for them to say," he added. And DP Transvaal leader Tony Leon dismissed the Federal Party, saying it would have as much effect as "a sneeze in a thunderstorm".

Mr Sunter, whose "high road, low road" scenario sketch largely coincided with the views of the DP and its predecessor, the Progressive Federal Party, said he was in favour of the FP's policy of decentralisation of power. "I haven't seen the (FP's) manifesto, but I'm betting on the lady. Frances is an outstanding person with a lot of spunk," he said.

In a statement released through the FP, Mr O'Dowd said: "I firmly support the constitutional proposals of the new FP. They are not wildly idealistic, as their critics will claim, but are based on the long experience of some very successful countries. Although the FP is obviously not going to form a government, I believe it is well worth voting for."

Miss Kendal said this week her party was aiming for five percent of the April vote. [passage omitted]

Bophuthatswana Administrators Issue Report

*MB2103141294 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1258 GMT 21 Mar 94*

[Report by E. Oelofse]

[Text] Mmabatho March 21 SAPA—The recently-appointed joint administrators of Bophuthatswana released a report at the weekend detailing their progress in the territory since the violence which toppled President Lucas Mangope. Signed by administrators Dr Job Mokgoro and Dr Tjaart van der Walt, the report states the "administration is now in the process of creating interim structures and mechanisms to address grievances presented by existing structures".

On the heated issue of pension funds, the administrators said: "for those who prefer to opt out, the office of the administrators has briefed pension experts to advise on the feasibility of, and mechanisms of, effecting pay-out."

Amid widespread claims of mismanagement and corruption of the Sefalana Employee Benefits Organisation (SEBO), the administrators have authorised an investigation into all SEBO's affairs. The investigating structure includes both employer and employee representatives.

Unfair dismissals under Mr Mangope are also being considered. The administrators stated they were aware "of a number of actions taken against employees, in particular in the public and and parastatal sectors, which were based on the so-called security laws of the former Bophuthatswana government. There is no doubt that in a normal democracy such laws have no place". A commitment is made to "reverse all dismissals and suspensions motivated by political considerations".

On the issue of "expatriate staff" the administrators said there were indications that some expatriates "have been excessively remunerated and many have allegedly been placed in positions for which they lack appropriate qualifications". This also would be redressed.

On security, the administrators would make "every effort" to revamp the security forces and immediately start the process of integrating them into appropriate forces within South Africa.

Employers in Bophuthatswana are urged to "handle cases of absenteeism with the greatest sympathy and sensitivity". However, the administrators appealed to all employees to return to work as soon as possible.

ANC Denies Role in Bophuthatswana MP's Murder

*MB2103144094 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1426 GMT 21 Mar 94*

[Text] Klerksdorp March 21 SAPA—The murder of former Bophuthatswana MP Shadrack Kadi and his younger brother at Motswedi near Zeerust on Thursday [17 March] was on Monday condemned by the African National Congress (ANC) Western Transvaal branch. Mr Kadi was "necklaced".

The ANC said in a statement: "the tribal chief of Motswedi, Ramokopane Lentswe, has issued a statement saying that (Mr) Kadi was murdered by angry villagers and not members of the ANC.

"The ANC Western Transvaal region is categorically distancing itself from this murder and condemns in no uncertain terms the callous murder of (Mr) Kadi.

"Although we understand the anger of the people who have been enslaved by (former Bophuthatswana President Lucas) Mangope for the past 16 years, we won't condone any murder of any kind".

SADF, Bophuthatswana Forces Working on Integration

*MB2103174394 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1500 GMT 21 Mar 94*

[Text] The South African Defense Force (SADF) is working closely with its Bophuthatswana counterpart and everything possible is being done to integrate the Bophuthatswana Security Force into the south Africa equivalent.

Capital Outflow Reported at 16.3 Billion Rand

*MB2003120494 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES
(BUSINESS TIMES Supplement) in English
20 Mar 94 p 1*

[Report by Sven Lunsche]

[Text] Capital outflow from South Africa is taking on mega-proportions. The Reserve Bank discloses in its Quarterly Bulletin that the net outflow of capital exploded to R16.3-billion [rand] last year from R3.7-billion in 1992. The cumulative net outflow since 1985 is now R49-billion.

The bank warns that the outflow could hurt the revival of economic activity and the attainment of financial stability. It ascribes the outflows to "political uncertainty, the ongoing internal unrest, pressure on the rand and the high cost of borrowing overseas."

The outflow also caused the net gold and foreign exchange reserves to plunge by R10.3-billion last year, forcing the bank to seek foreign loans. Figures in the bulletin show that SA [South Africa] made drawings of R7.1-billion on foreign credit facilities last year, including the R2.8-billion International Monetary Fund loan.

On a more positive note, the bank notes that the current account of the balance of payments improved from R3.9-billion in 1992 to R5.9-billion last year and that foreigners were net buyers of JSE [Johannesburg Stock Exchange] shares worth R4.2-billion in 1993.

Finance Minister Optimistic About Future Policies

MB2203103394 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0831 GMT 22 Mar 94

[By Sean Feely]

[Text] Johannesburg Mar 22 SAPA—Finance Minister Derek Keys expressed optimism Tuesday [22 March] on the economic policies of a future government, saying it was likely capital outflows would be reversed.

Capital outflows of over R16-billion [rand] had reached something of a "crescendo" last year due to political uncertainty and ongoing unrest, and total almost R50-billion since 1985 when the country introduced debt standstill arrangements.

"1994 looks as though its going to go in the other direction," he told a business breakfast in Johannesburg. "We've had two good months so far, and march also looks alright."

Mr Keys said SA's [South Africa] arrangements with its international creditor banks, worked out late last year, created a good long-term basis for the management of the country's capital account. He was confident the economic policies pursued by a government of national unity following April's elections would not divorce the country from the global economy. The country simply could not afford to adopt policies that would scare foreign investors as evidenced by SA's foreign exchange reserves which amounted to an alarmingly low level of five months of imports.

The long-term creation of sustainable jobs could not take place with the limited amount of capital available. Instead, above average economic growth would have to be achieved.

He expected the imperative of creating employment would drive the cabinet ministers responsible for the economy towards policies aimed at boosting growth.

Mr Keys said the consensual approach towards national economic policy determination augured well for a future government, as well as the ability of the country's enterprises to emerge from one of its worst recessions. "We're in good shape now for future growth. A lot of business in the last period have become more efficient," he said referring to the competitive pressure of the country's re-integration into international markets and systems like the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Expects New Budget by August

MB2203103694 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0853 GMT 22 Mar 94

[Text] Johannesburg Mar 22 SAPA—The country's first budget under the new government was likely to be presented before the end of August this year, Finance Minister Derek Keys said Tuesday [22 March] in Johannesburg. He told a business breakfast that the budget could be released earlier as the parties involved thought August was too close to the planning cycle needed for the following year's budget.

The budget therefore could be presented in July or as early as June, following the country's first all-race elections in April.

Due to the country's transition, a budget was not presented traditionally in mid-March, for the new fiscal year which starts at the beginning of April. However, government budgets were extended by parliament earlier this year.

Mr Keys also revealed Tuesday the head of the finance, and state expenditure departments in conjunction with the finance sub-council of the Transitional Executive Council would outline next week the broad parameters of the first government's budget.

Buthelezi Warns Businessmen of False Sense of Security

MB2103123194 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1056 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Report by M Merten]

[Text] Johannesburg March 21 SAPA—Businessmen seemed to be "lulled into a false sense of security with the promises of stability and growth by President FW de Klerk" because of their impatience for a final political settlement, Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] President Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Monday [21 March].

Speaking at a Johannesburg business breakfast meeting, Mr Buthelezi said the interim constitution contained "all the unwanted baggage of the past—the excesses of central government, a limited bill of rights and a politically malleable constitutional court".

The whole system remained top heavy and would continue the autocratic and authoritarian characteristics of

the present government. The new provinces would not have a say on provincial matters such as civil service, police, audits, budgeting and finance, he said.

While the South African business community seemed complacent about the interim constitution, Mr Buthelezi said he was prepared to accept criticism for not taking part in the coming elections.

International mediation by constitutional experts would show the IFP's demands as fair and its concerns as legitimate, he said.

Mediation would address the question of Zulu self-determination and the status of the Zulu kingdom. It would help rationalise the electoral process and timetables so all parties could compete on an equal footing.

Thousands of Civil Servants Taking Early Retirement

MB2003120394 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (BUSINESS TIMES Supplement) in English 20 Mar 94 p 2

[Report by Ciaran Ryan]

[Excerpts] Thousands of public servants are taking early retirement ahead of the change in government. The number of vacancies in the public sector shot up 60 percent to 79,500 between September 1992 and September 1993, according to Central Statistical Service [CSS]. Many are new jobs in provincial administration. Total public-sector employment, excluding the independent states, is 53-million. Including the independent states, the figure is 1.9-million. [passage omitted]

The Human Sciences Research Council found a near doubling in the number of public servants taking early retirement between 1987 and 1992. The trend has accelerated in the last year, says the CSS. [passage omitted]

Total employment in the public sector fell by 3 percent, or 50,816 jobs, in the year to September 1993. There was a 0.2 percent decrease in employment in central government departments and provincial administrations, a 1.9 percent decrease in local authorities, 11.7 percent in public corporations and 20.7 percent in agricultural boards. [passage omitted]

SADF Calls Up Part-Time Members for Elections

MB2103173594 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1637 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] Pretoria Mar 21 SAPA—The South African Defence Force [SADF] is calling up a "significant" number of part-time force members countrywide to assist the police before, during and after the April election. SADF chief General Georg Meiring said in a statement on Monday [21 March] the forces' involvement in the country's internal situation would be determined by the level of unrest or violence prevalent over the election period.

"The defence force, however, cannot afford to wait and see how the situation develops before making contingency plans to provide whatever support may be required.

"Therefore, after studying the likely scenarios and seen against the background of the present volatile situation, especially in certain areas of the country as well as the fact that the defence force was obliged to fill the gap left by the troops seconded to the NPKF (National Peace-keeping Force), we were left with no option other than to call up members of the part-time forces for service," Gen Meiring said.

He said the presence of the troops would release more policemen to concentrate on routine policing and the protection of polling stations.

The call-up was being conducted on a decentralised basis throughout the country and although the majority were members of the South African Army, they also included members of the SA Air Force, SA Navy and SA Medical Services.

"I give the absolute assurance that we will call up only the minimum number needed to provide the support the defence force has predicted will be required," Gen Meiring said.

"The normal channel for applications for exemptions and deferments is in operation, but exemptions and deferments will only be granted in exceptional circumstances."

He appealed to those called up to report for service in the interests of stability, peace and an unrest and violence-free election. "If ever there was a time for all of us in the defence force to put our shoulders to the wheel and to make a personal sacrifice in the interests of all the people in our country, it is now," Gen Meiring said.

Inmates Break Out of Pietermaritzburg Prison

MB2103173494 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1717 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] Pietermaritzburg Mar 21 SAPA—About 2,000 inmates broke out of the Pietermaritzburg prison building on Monday [21 March] evening and gathered in the prison's courtyard. Correctional Services spokesman Brig Chris Olckers told SAPA police and SA Defence Force reinforcements had been called in and the courtyard had been cordoned off.

Brig Olckers said 120 inmates had been injured after prisoners started rioting and destroying prison property, including cells, the prison radio room, the prison chapel and the archives room, which had been completely gutted. He said the inmates had broken out of various prison sections into the courtyard using beds to ram down walls.

The situation was being monitored closely as was the case at the Pretoria prison where extensive damage was

caused at "death row" on Monday. Inmates had set alight 18 cells and destroyed bedding, furniture and computer cables, but the situation was under control.

Prisoners have embarked on protest actions country-wide, demanding the right to vote in the April election.

Explosion Damages NP Office in Ventersdorp

*MB2203062794 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 0500 GMT 22 Mar 94*

[Text] The National Party's office at Ventersdorp in the western Transvaal has been severely damaged in an explosion. Windows of nearby buildings, including those of a church, were also shattered. No one was injured in the blast. The blast is believed to have been caused by a bomb placed at the door of the office. The explosion was the second in the town in 2 days. In the first, a petrol station was damaged by a bomb blast on Sunday night.

South African Press Review for 22 Mar

MB2203135594

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

Goldstone Unfair to Police Generals in Gun Running Probe—"We would be the first to condemn any police involvement in Third Force activities," declares the page-6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 21 March. "However, we do not think that Mr Justice Richard Goldstone has been fair to the three police generals who were said to have been involved in gun running and other activities. He admitted that the prime facie, untested evidence should be subjected to the normal judicial processes." Therefore, if any policeman is guilty of being involved in Third Force activities, "he deserves to be prosecuted and punished. Conversely, if some or all of them, including the generals, have been unjustly maligned, then we hope their names will be cleared if not by the commission, then by the courts."

THE STAR

Call for Security Forces Deployment in Natal—"For two weekends in succession the ANC [African National Congress] has been unable to hold planned rallies in townships near Durban," notes a page-16 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 22 March. "On the first IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] zealots occupied a stadium in Umlazi which had been booked in advance by the ANC; on the second 'Zulus', suspected of being IFP loyalists, again thwarted the ANC by occupying a

stadium in kwaMashu. Major conflict was avoided but the portents of a major disaster are there for all to see." It is "good" that the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) is "sufficiently concerned" to arrange meetings with President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, and the kwa-Zulu Legislative Assembly. But, "it is not enough," and security forces must be "deployed in strength, not to overthrow Mangosuthu Buthelezi but to ensure that all parties have the right to campaign peacefully and that all voters have the right to vote or not to vote. The situation must not be allowed to degenerate into chaos."

BUSINESS DAY

Call for No Vote for Prisoners—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 22 March in a page-14 editorial remarks that "the TEC [Transitional Executive Council] has shown little backbone, particularly for anything the ANC does not want. The ANC is among the parties wanting to slip a ballot paper under every cell door. Prison riots may be all that is needed to persuade the council that any perpetrator of any crime, no matter how heinous, should have a say in the composition of the next government. The answer to that proposition must remain a firm no."

SOWETAN

'Unrealistic Expectations' of Prisoners—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 22 March in a page-10 editorial is "aghast at the violence that has led to the death of 23 people in prison riots." "The Prisons Department, unhappily, is shrouded in secrecy forced upon it by apartheid laws. Such laws must disappear in the South Africa of the future. Those friends of the prisoners, who may be sparking unrealistic expectations, should be wary of causing more harm than help to their charges."

CITY PRESS

Zwelithini, Buthelezi Conceal True Intentions—Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English on 20 March in a page-18 editorial is not surprised by the proclamation on 18 March of a sovereign kwaZulu/natal kingdom by Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini. Zwelithini and Chief Minister Buthelezi "were determined to break up this country. However, they concealed their true intentions with claims that all they wanted was greater powers for the regions. Now, the pretence is over. By this decision King Goodwill and Chief Buthelezi and the King must be stopped. We cannot allow a coterie of power-hungry potentates to dismember the country." "The unpalatable truth is that Buthelezi was never keen on testing his popularity at the polls. All that he wanted was kwaZulu/Natal. To achieve that he seems prepared to go to any lengths."

Angola**Reconciliation Negotiations Continue in Lusaka***MB2103205894 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 21 Mar 94*

[Text] The topic under discussion at the peace talks in Lusaka, Zambia, is still national reconciliation. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] still insists on its way. Our correspondent Joao Ligio reports:

[Ligio] The discussion of specific principles for national reconciliation entered its fifth week today with the same routine of exploratory contacts and no fruitful results. This morning, the Black Cockerel's men drafted a new text in which they accept the government's proposal, with the condition that the following is added: Three more provinces, three ministries, and three districts, all in the central plateau. This proposal was, however, immediately turned down by the mediator without the need to consult the government delegation.

This afternoon, the mediator handed the parties the final version, which includes all principles, even those on which the parties disagree. The parties must present their reactions to this document by tomorrow, since the mediator is adopting a time limit for consideration.

Observers on UNITA Stance*MB2203102594 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 22 Mar 94*

[Text] In Lusaka, observers have admitted that the peace talks might break down should the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] continue to adopt its current stance. UNITA has demanded more central and provincial government posts. Pedro Manuel, our correspondent in the Zambian capital, reports that the mediators and observers want the two negotiating teams to meet today in a bid to overcome the current stalemate.

[Begin Manuel recording] Good morning, dear listeners. No understanding has been reached yet concerning the issue of government for this country. The mediators and observers may try to get the two sides to meet today to overcome the deadlock.

According to a source, yesterday the mediators gave UNITA yet another document for it to analyze. That document was drawn up on the basis of the offer made by the Angolan Government. UNITA promised it would reply some time today.

Despite that, observers here in Lusaka have admitted the possibility that negotiation may break down should UNITA remain steadfast in its current position. The (peace talks) continue to focus on ministerial portfolios and provincial government issues. UNITA has accepted what the government has offered but it continues to say

that it is not enough. It wants more so-called key ministerial portfolios and more provinces to govern. [end recording]

FAA Kills 2 Zairians in Battle for Mona Quimbundo*MB2103071094 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0500 GMT 21 Mar 94*

[Text] The Angolan Armed Forces, FAA, claim they killed two Zairian soldiers in Lunda Sul Province's Mona Quimbundo District earlier this month. Sources in the government forces have disclosed that those troops were killed when the aforesaid district was retaken. The FAA forces also killed three National Union for the Total Independence of Angola soldiers and wounded another 17.

UNITA Reportedly Launches Major Offensive*MB2203092394 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 22 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] The Lusaka peace talks may now be deadlocked, but war inside Angola has long been the order of the day. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] has launched a major offensive throughout Angolan territory, but its operations are focusing on Benguela, Bengo, and Huila Provinces in particular. In Lunda Sul Province, the people experienced difficult times yet again when an undetermined number of UNITA soldiers attacked the area of Luau. Our correspondent reports:

[Begin unidentified correspondent recording] According to (Sapassa Cabeia), one of the (leading figures in the area), UNITA killed three people and wounded another three. Its forces pulled out shortly after the Angolan Armed Forces had come into action. [passage omitted] [end recording]

President dos Santos Swears In New Ministers*MB1803210094 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 18 Mar 94*

[Text] Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos today swore in the new government members appointed by presidential decrees yesterday. Jose Pedro de Moraes was sworn in as minister of planning and economic coordination. Joao Baptista Kassuma and Eduardo Severino Moraes were sworn in as deputy planning minister and economic coordination deputy minister, respectively. Antonio Gomes Furtado is the new deputy finance minister, while Guilherme do Espirito Santo is deputy minister of sports. The ceremony took place at the Futungo de Belas hall and was attended by government officials. Jose Eduardo dos Santos wished the newly appointed officials success, pointing out that it is the start of a new challenge. We have a new team and we must play to win, he said.

Comoros

Opposition Comments on Arrest of 2 Leaders

AB2103184594 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1830 GMT 20 Mar 94

[Text] The government is putting the screws on the opposition with the arrest of two members accused of crimes against the state. They are expected to appear in court within days. According to opposition spokesman Abass Youssouf, these arrests are a simple maneuver orchestrated by President Said Mohamed Dhojar's regime to destabilize the opposition. Here is Abass Youssouf speaking to Mohamed Yusufu Saliou.

[Begin recording] [Youssouf] One has the impression that what they really want is to put political leaders under arrest so they are looking for an excuse. The very day of the arrests the government issued a communique over the radio attacking [words indistinct] and myself. So one has the impression that the government is panic-stricken and is simply seeking to arrest people.

[Saliou] In the face of this situation what is the reaction of the opposition that you represent?

[Youssouf] The opposition [words indistinct] because the radio is gagged by the government. There is no (?written press), they closed down all the radio stations close to the opposition, and we in Moroni have called dignitaries and religious leaders to meet on 22 and 23 March to deny the allegations. We plan to hold a rally on 23 March, and it will be followed up with other rallies in Grande Comore to try to explain the situation to the people. We have convened political leaders [words indistinct].

[Saliou] So in your opinion, there was no plot, but it is rather the state which is trying to arrest opposition leaders with flimsy excuses?

[Youssouf] Oh yes, that is quite clear to everybody. Even as far as the people are concerned, you can be sure. [end recording]

Mozambique

Dhlakama Reaffirms Renamo Wants October Elections

MB2203115494 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 22 Mar 94

[Text] Afonso Dhlakama, Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] leader, has reiterated that his party wants the country's multiparty elections to be held in October of this year. In an interview he granted Portugal's LUSA news agency, the Renamo leader said that there were people interested in postponing elections but he noted that was not Renamo's position.

The Renamo leader noted that the international community has repeatedly warned that it will withdraw its

UN-supervised peacekeeping mission in Mozambique, should the holding of elections be moved to a later stage.

CCF Meets in Maputo, Discusses Troop Confinement

MB2203102294 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 22 Mar 94

[Text] The Cease-Fire Commission [CCF] has (?issued) a statement concerning the start of the process of destroying ammunition and explosive devices in government and Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] troop assembly areas.

At a meeting in Maputo yesterday, the CCF found that the pace of government and Renamo troop confinement has dropped slightly. The United Nations has called on the two sides to replace troops as they are demobilized.

At a meeting to analyze the evolution of the troop confinement and demobilization process, Renamo presented complaints that men were allegedly being trained in Goba, in Maputo Province, and that Mozambique Armed Forces, FAM, soldiers were allegedly selling weapons to civilians in Tete Province.

The CCF promised to investigate on the ground the allegations that have been presented by the movement led by Afonso Dhlakama.

Government, Renamo Soldiers To Join New Army

MB2103191594 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] The government and the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] had already selected 2,622 soldiers to join the future Mozambique Defense Armed Forces by 18 March. Of this number, 1,893 come from the government army, while the remaining 729 came from Renamo. The UN Operations in Mozambique daily report points out that by 18 March the government had demobilized 2,721 soldiers, while Renamo had demobilized 100 men. Radio Mozambique in Tete Province points out that 250 government soldiers were demobilized at the Xitima assembly area in Cahora Bassa District today.

Ajello: FADM Training Delayed for Technical Reasons

MB2003093794 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 0800 GMT 20 Mar 94

[Text] Despite the intentions of the UN Operations in Mozambique, Unomoz, the first preparatory course for the infantry forces of the future Mozambique Defense Armed Forces, FADM, will no longer begin tomorrow. Dr. Aldo Ajello, representative of the UN Secretary General in Mozambique, has told the DOMINGO newspaper that the causes for the delay are of a technical, rather than political, nature. Noting that the instruction

centers have not been completely rehabilitated yet, he added however that the [words indistinct] to begin by the end of this month.

Renamo Reportedly Inciting Soldiers To Rebel

MB2103191494 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] A group of demobilized soldiers from the government army revealed a few days ago that Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] militants have had contacts with government soldiers and policemen in Gaza Province, inciting them to react against the minimum salary established for the soldiers of the future unified army. This was revealed during a session of the provincial government of Gaza, held in Xai-Xai on 18 March. The meeting heard that Renamo militants were headed by Antonio Muchanga, Renamo deputy representative in Gaza.

Chissano Opens Frelimo Central Committee Meeting

MB2103131294 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Report by Filipe Mabutana]

[Text] Under the chairmanship of President Joaquim Alberto Chissano, the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] Central Committee has been holding its fourth ordinary session at the Frelimo School in Matola since this morning. A total of 144 party members are attending the session, which should perhaps be called Frelimo's triumphal meeting. According to Frelimo Chairman Joaquim Chissano, only Frelimo knows how to implement democracy in this country. In practice, democracy will perish and be a tuneless song in the throats of dictators or disguised puppets. [sentence as heard]

In his speech to the fourth Frelimo Central Committee session, the Mozambican president gave special attention to the Mozambican peace process in general, and in particular the troop confinement and demobilization processes, as well as the formation of the new Mozambique Defense Armed Forces, FADM. He also noted the need for Frelimo militants to mobilize the electorate and to gather new members for the party. In fact, Frelimo is very happy about its membership.

In his speech a few minutes ago, Frelimo Chairman Chissano said his party had already been able to get 359,719 new members in the 21-month period between March 1992 and December of last year. According to him, these figures reflect his party's growing credibility among the Mozambican people. Joaquim Chissano noted that such findings by Frelimo may serve as a catalyst to increase its belief that it can win the upcoming first multiparty elections in the country.

[Begin Chissano recording] Our party has enjoyed the people's respect for many years. These perceptions arise

from the people's knowledge about the aims that have always guided Frelimo and the successes we have scored even when we were going through rather difficult times. [Words indistinct] the difficulties we have faced. This should not wipe away our history or the foundations we have established and on which (?we hope to build) a happy Mozambique. We must have the courage and firmness to face up to the challenges posed by this process. We want to win the elections in a climate of reconciliation and tolerance. This does not mean, though, that we have to keep quiet about all direct and indirect aggression we have been dealt. [end recording]

Poll Measures Popularity of Unarmed Parties

MB1903080194 Maputo SAVANA in Portuguese 11 Mar 94 p 24

[Text] If the presidential and parliamentary elections were held tomorrow without the participation of Joaquim Chissano and Afonso Dhlakama, and Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance], who would vote for the other candidates? The question was asked by Gestinform to 1,000 Maputo residents between 18 February and 4 March. Domingos Arouca and Fumo [Mozambique United Front-Democratic Convergence Party] emerged as viable alternatives to run the country.

Out of a total of 1,000 people, Arouca received the support of 360 people or 36 percent. Maximo Dias came second with 225 votes (22.5 percent), Padimbe Kamati with 31 votes (3.1 percent), and Neves Serrano with eight votes (.8 percent). The number of voters who did not vote for the candidates was 118 (11.5 percent), and those undecided represented 25 percent or 258 voters.

If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow without the participation of Frelimo and Renamo, Fumo would also enjoyed the support of the Maputo electorate with 271 votes or 27 percent. Then comes Monamo [Mozambican Nationalist Movement-Mozambican Social Democratic Party] with 258 votes (25.8 percent), the PCN [National Convention Party] with 247 votes (24.7 percent), Pademo [Mozambique Democratic Party] with 25 votes (2.5 percent), the PPPM [Mozambique People's Progress Party] with 18 votes (1.8 percent), Sol [Social Democratic and Liberal Party] with 14 (1.4 percent), and Palmo [Mozambique Liberal and Democratic Party] with 7 (.7 percent). There were 149 undecided voters (14.9 percent) and 11 various others (1.1 percent).

This is the opinion expressed by people interviewed during the opinion poll:

Dr. Domingos Arouca: "He is the best among the other political leaders." "If the two main contenders do not run for the presidency, it would be his turn." "He is the type of man that this country needs—old, cultured, and calm." "He is not one of those who has the hands stained red; his are clean."

Dr. Maximo Dias: "He is a good political leader, cultured and mature." "He seems to be the most democratic of the Mozambican politicians." "He is an experienced politician." "Many politicians could learn from his speeches."

Dr. Padimbe Kamate: "He is the eldest of the candidates." "He has a lot to teach us." "He seems to be very careful in his statements; he does not make senseless accusations." "He is very worried about our people, and deserves to be the president of the Republic."

Dr. Neves Serrano: "Mozambique needs a religious president so that there is no more war; he is the right person." "He is a very simple and respected man, who greets everybody." "He is not one of those who drives luxury automobiles; he walks like the people."

The opinion poll covered residents of the city of Maputo older than 18 years, of whom 490 were males and 510 females. The margin of error is 3.09 percent with a 95 percent degree of certainty.

Benin**Students, Security Forces Clash in Cotonou***AB2103220094 Paris AFP in French 1823 GMT
21 Mar 94*

[Text] Cotonou, 21 Mar (AFP)—Clashes occurred between security forces and students this afternoon in Cotonou. About 3,000 students demanded an audience with President Nicéphore Soglo to present their grievances, an AFP correspondent said.

At least one student was wounded during the clashes and two demonstrators were arrested. An earlier demonstration took place on 17 March when 3,000 students joined the march in the center of Cotonou.

Beninese students are demanding the doubling of their current scholarships in order to cushion the impact of the devaluation of the CFA franc that took place on 11 January. They are also protesting the expulsion of two of their comrades who are union leaders from the university accused of triggering disturbances on the Calavi Campus (15 km north-east of Cotonou) at the beginning of last month. Since then, the teachers of the National University of Benin had embarked on a strike to demand the reinforcement of security on the campus.

Unions Maintain Strike Call; Government Reacts*AB2103134194 Cotonou Office de Radiodiffusion-
Television du Benin Radio in French 0615 GMT
21 Mar 94*

[Excerpts] The interunion crisis committee and the federation of independent unions are maintaining their call for a five-day renewable strike from this morning until 25 March to protest what they term the government's inflexible position toward workers' legitimate demands. The unions pointed out that although the government has agreed to the principle of paying overdue step increases, it has not earmarked funds for the increase in salary indexes. The government is insisting that all salary changes should not exceed the allocated 9 billion CFA francs. The unions recall that the amount can only cover a 10 percent increase on the basis of the 1990 salary index. The unions, therefore, conclude that the government's decision to accept the principle of paying overdue step increases is only aimed at curtailing the workers' past gains. Due to the above reasons, the unions maintain the strike call and urge all workers to give their maximum support to the strike in order that, quote, government maneuvers fail, unquote. Furthermore, the unions have decided to refer the matter to the appropriate legal institutions in the country as well as international organizations for what they term government's machinations, which infringe on labor rights.

Following the resumption of negotiations with the government, the National Federation of Workers' Union of Benin [UNSTB], also a signatory to the strike motion, has just backed out of the action. It held an extraordinary

session on 19 March during which its steering committee reviewed workers' social conditions, especially those of its activists. Given that the government has accepted the principle of paying overdue step increases, increasing the salary index, and increasing family allowances to the tune of 9,225,328,610 CFA francs, the UNSTB thinks there is a need to continue negotiations with the government. It has, therefore, decided to suspend its participation in the strike and urges all its activists to report for duty as of 0800 this morning.

The government has reacted to the strike threat. It has reaffirmed that in its 16 March cabinet meeting report, it expressed readiness to negotiate by agreeing to meet two of the unions' demands. The government communique clearly stressed that the cabinet has already confirmed the government position and informed the unions. It said the government will also proceed with the necessary actions for the payment of the 28-percent salary increase in conjunction with union representatives chosen by the unions. It further stated that work on this has been under way since 18 March to enable the government to take up the matter quickly at the National Assembly for an enabling draft bill. Thus, payment of workers' financial benefits, pending the adoption of the 1994 budget, as well as their salary readjustments and promotions will be effective as of the end of April. [passage omitted]

In view of the government's decision, the two reasons given for the five-day strike announced on 15 March are no longer valid. Moreover, since no strike motion or any other workers' demands have been brought before the government, the civil service minister urges all workers in all sectors to report for duty without fail as of 0800 this morning. [passage omitted]

Ghana**District Assembly Elections Begin 22 Mar***AB2203094894 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation
Radio Network in English 0600 GMT 22 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] Ghanaians go to the polls today to elect representatives to the district assemblies. Voting begins at 7 o'clock this morning and ends at 5 o'clock in the evening. The elections, the first to be held under the 1992 Constitution, are nonpartisan. Candidates will be chosen for 103 district assemblies, three metropolitan, and four municipal assemblies. [passage omitted]

Guinea-Bissau**Presidential, Legislative Elections Postponed***LD2103225894 Lisbon Radio Renascenca in Portuguese
to Europe 2200 GMT 21 Mar 94*

[Text] The president of Guinea-Bissau has once more postponed the first presidential and legislative elections. Nino Vieira revoked the decree providing for the elections to be held on 27 March. In a communique issued

by the presidency of the Council of State, the Guinean president says that his decision to postpone the elections again is linked to the note from the National Election Commission which states that it is not technically possible to hold the elections. Fernando Pereira reports from Guinea-Bissau.

[Pereira] At this rate, Guinea-Bissau will enter the Guinness Book of Records as the African country with the longest transition process to democracy. In effect, the process started in 1991, and this is the third time that the pluralist elections have been postponed. This measure has not come as a surprise. Since last month, it has been known that it was practically impossible to hold elections on the set date, 27 March. The delay in the registration process, the main electoral task, is one of the reasons for the postponement. Another reason, given recently, was the inadequate functioning of the regional election commissions and irregularities in the selection of candidates for drawing up the electoral lists. Finally, this latest postponement has much to do with the serious economic crisis in the country, which could be further aggravated by this postponement.

Niger

Police, Students Clash in Niamey Demonstration

AB1803160694 Paris AFP in English 1501 GMT
18 Mar 94

[Text] Niamey, March 18 (AFP)—Paramilitary police using teargas and university students lobbing firebombs battled in the Niger capital on Friday [18 March].

The students set up roadblocks of branches and burning tyres at all intersections and blocked off the bridge across the Niger River linking the city centre to their campus.

About 100 police drove some 200 students back to the campus.

The students were calling for the punishment of all those involved in the death of a student a week ago, when police raided the campus to break up a demonstration of protest against arrears in payment of study grants.

The student was hit full in the face by a teargas canister and died of the wounds next day.

Friday's demonstrators demanded in particular the immediate sacking of Niamey's Mayor Souleymane Abari, who is also district administrator with police powers.

Government spokesman Mouctar Diallo set out a timetable for paying the missing subsidies late Thursday, but the student union said the gesture was a deliberate misreading of their call for punishment of the culprits in the campus death.

Apart from the paramilitary police contingent, there were no policemen in the streets because their national

union with 1,700 members has called a strike in support of the colleagues accused by the students.

France Denies Supporting Tuareg Rebellion

AB1903121094 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 1200 GMT 18 Mar 94

[Text] French Ambassador Jean-Francois Lionnet stated last night on national television that France is not backing the Tuareg rebellion in Niger. He dismissed widespread allegations in Niger that France was supporting the Tuareg rebellion and stressed that there were no specific facts to substantiate the accusations, which he described as inconsistent. He explained that France has only assumed a mediation role in this matter. France has always condemned and will continue to condemn the deadly attacks perpetrated by the rebels, the French envoy added, and concluded that France will assist Niger during these trying times.

Togo

Koffigoh Offers Government's Resignation to Eyadema

AB2103193594 Lome Radio Lome in French
1900 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] The head of state, General Gnassingbe Eyadema, granted an audience to Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh. The head of government went to present the resignation of his crisis government to the head of state.

Views New Government Consultations

AB2103211594 Lome Radio Lome in French
1900 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Interview with Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Koffigoh] I have just tendered my resignation and that of the crisis government to the president of the Republic. You know that the mission assigned by the Sovereign National Conference to the transitional prime minister is essentially to lead the country to democracy. Between the end of 1992 and the beginning of 1993, you know that civil peace and the very existence of the nation as an entity was seriously threatened. It became necessary to initiate greater consultations than in the past between the head of state and the prime minister in order to save our country. This has been done and a crisis government was formed on the basis of seven fundamental principles to [words indistinct] which I had negotiated at the time and which was accepted by the head of state.

The essential mission of the crisis government does not differ at all from that of the transitional government. It is the same thing; that is, to govern the country until the installation of democratic institutions. Today we are on

the eve of the first meeting of the new National Assembly, and I thought my mission and that of the government had ended. It is henceforth up to the head of state who has the reigns of power to continue his consultations to form a new government.

Of course, I am satisfied since Togo is entering into the community of the world's democratic nations. I am very satisfied with this. Of course, these results were achieved without having gone through great pains. We went through various ups and downs, including bloody events, and this is my only point of regret; we do not have the power to bring the dead back to life, those people whom our divisions and dissensions killed. But concerning our performance report, we will remember, if not this evening then in the days ahead, some of the highlights of this transition which has been a long one. This birth of our democracy has been long, but, thank God, the Togolese democracy has been born all the same.

[Correspondent] Considering your experience, what advice do you give to your successor?

[Koffigoh] I told you before it is not up to the outgoing prime minister to define the criteria for his successor. So, for the moment, I will limit myself to this.

[Correspondent] [Question indistinct]

[Koffigoh] But I say that Togo is a nation which must get consolidated as a nation and which has to assert itself in the regional, subregional, and the international context as well as among countries belonging to the United Nations. Togolese have real problems that go beyond our petty squabbles and political triteness and these problems must be resolved. The best way to solve them is that each time difficulties arise ...[pauses] there is no country in the world that does not go through problems. But those who can contribute should be able to hold consultations to find the best solutions. If this spirit guides our country's march towards the future, I think we have a good chance to emerge victorious. But if we should continue to fight among ourselves while we forget the people, then, of course, we will have the same difficulties in the future. I think I have been clear enough. [end recording]

Controversy Between CAR, UTD Over Premiership

*AB2203093094 Lome Radio Lome in French
0600 GMT 22 Mar 94*

[Text] Joseph Kokou Koffigoh has resigned from his prime ministerial post but a controversy has begun between the Action Committee for Renewal [CAR] and the Togolese Union for Democracy [UTD] over the

arrangements expected to lead to the choice of the new prime minister. Yesterday, the CAR sent us a statement relating to the situation. It was read by Afan Houenoumadje:

[Begin Houenoumadje recording] The CAR steering committee met on 21 March in the presence of its 36 members elected to the National Assembly and expressed grave concern over the reasons for the present controversy over the choice of the prime minister expected to form the first government of the Fourth Republic.

The CAR recalls that, according to a democratic principle in tune with the expression of the people's will and the spirit of our Constitution, the choice of a prime minister from a parliamentary majority is, first and foremost, left to the party that obtained the highest number of seats in the elections, and it is up to that party to look within its ranks for the person who can occupy that function.

Furthermore, the CAR makes it a point to stress that before the first round of the legislative polls, the CAR chairman and his UTD counterpart agreed, in the presence of a witness, upon the way the prime minister would be chosen. Under this agreement, it was understood that should the opposition win the legislative elections, the party that would obtain the highest number of seats would choose candidates for the post of prime minister, speaker of the National Assembly, and president of the Constitutional Court. The CAR remains convinced that everything will be done to ensure that the new institutions that are put in place are in line with the will expressed by our citizens during the 6 and 20 February legislative elections.

Issued in Lome on 21 March 1994 by Yaovi Agboyibor, CAR chairman [end recording]

After this statement by the CAR, the UTD reacted immediately. Edem Kodjo, the UTD leader who we contacted by telephone, said he had not signed any such agreement with the CAR and demanded proof of such an agreement. Let us listen to what he said:

[Begin Kodjo recording] I find all this a bit deplorable. What I can tell you is that I have never signed any agreement with the CAR chairman on this issue. If there exists a signed agreement this should be produced. [end recording]

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

24 MAR 1994

